• CANADA WEST FOUNDATION •

Cities @ 2000

CANADA'S URBAN LANDSCAPE: New Trends, Emerging Issues

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Cities @ 2000

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Canada West Foundation is a non-profit and non-partisan research institute located in Calgary, Alberta. This is the first in a series of reports the Foundation plans to release on the growing importance of cities. This report was authored by Casey G. Vander Ploeg, Canada West Foundation's Director of Governance Projects, along with CWF Director of Research Loleen Youngman Berdahl and CWF President Roger Gibbins. The study was partially funded with a grant from the City of Calgary, and is based on a shorter report originally completed for the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation.

Because of the independence given the authors in preparing this report, the opinions and recommendations expressed within are those of the authors only, and do not necessarily reflect the opinions of the Canada West Foundation Council, its members, donors or funders.

Copies of this report are available for $20 by contacting the Canada West Foundation. A short summary is also available for download free of charge from the CWF web site at www.cwf.ca.

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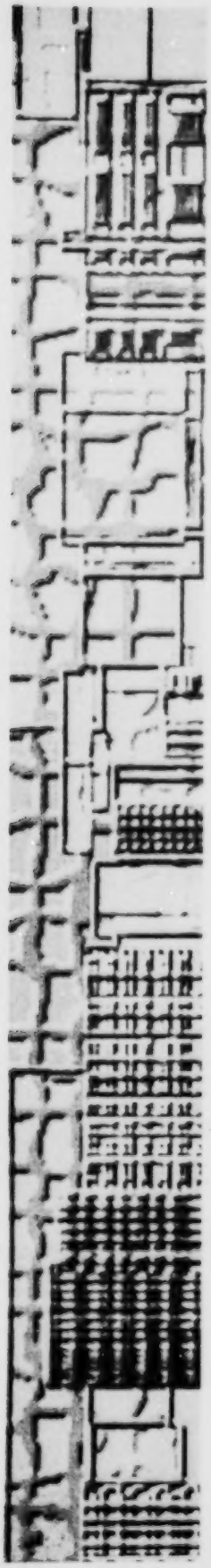

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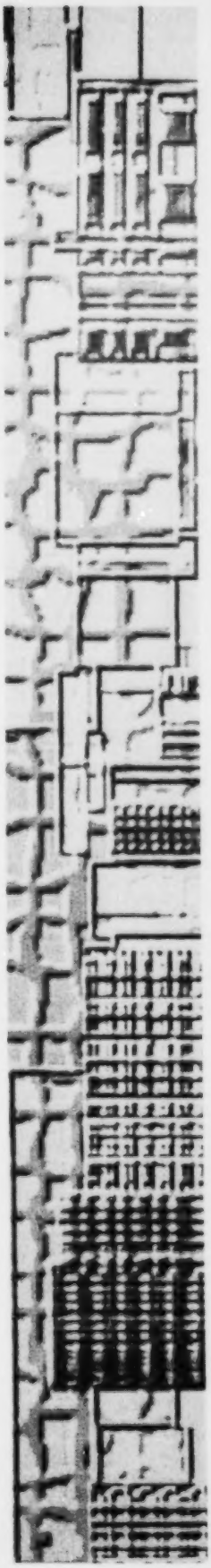
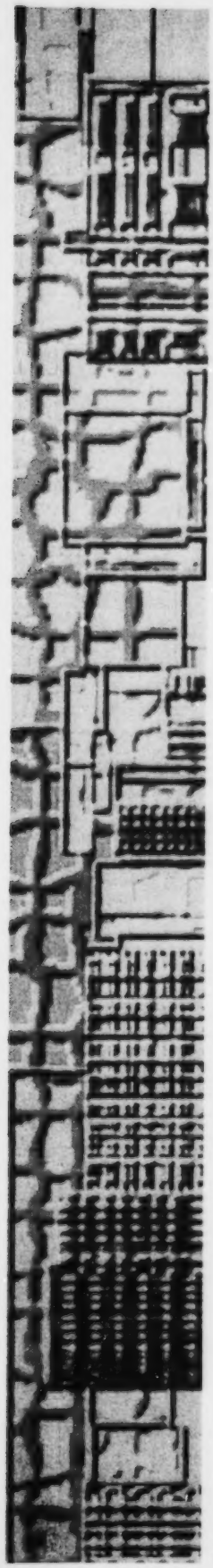




EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Throughout the 1990s, cities across Canada have played an increasingly important role in the economic, political and social lives of Canadians. In the decades to come, this trend will likely accelerate. *Cities@2000: Canada's Urban Landscape* begins to explore the importance of cities in Canada by meeting three objectives:

1) Detailing how urbanization has proceeded in Canada within a national, regional and provincial context.

2) Constructing a profile of Canadian cities based on population growth, demographic change, and a variety of social and economic indicators.

3) Constructing a future research agenda to address the issues facing municipal governments.

In meeting these objectives, *Cities@2000: Canada's Urban Landscape* represents a highly comprehensive data collection sourcebook that can be used to inform ongoing debate and discussion over policy issues in urban Canada.

Cities@2000: Canada's Urban Landscape compiles the most recent available and comparable data from Statistics Canada, the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, the Canadian Almanac and Directory, the Canadian Real Estate Board, the Canadian Global Almanac, Revenue Canada, the Dominion Bond Rating Service, various provincial statistical bureaus and services, and the cities themselves. These data were analyzed and presented in a comparative fashion to highlight urbanization trends and to create profiles of Canada's 25 census metropolitan areas (CMAs).

Cities@2000: Canada's Urban Landscape presents a variety of data that demonstrate the following:

1) Regardless of the measure chosen, it is clear that Canada has become increasingly urbanized. Over 55% of Canadians live in urban centres with populations exceeding 100,000 persons, while over 43% live in large urban centres with populations exceeding 500,000 persons.

2) Urbanization patterns vary across Canada. Urban growth in Western Canada has outpaced urban growth in other regions over the last 30 years.

3) Population distributions within CMAs are shifting, with anchor cities declining in population weight and surrounding cities and rural fringes increasing in population weight.

4) Cities are highly sensitive to changes in immigration policy, due to the fact that most immigrants reside in CMAs.

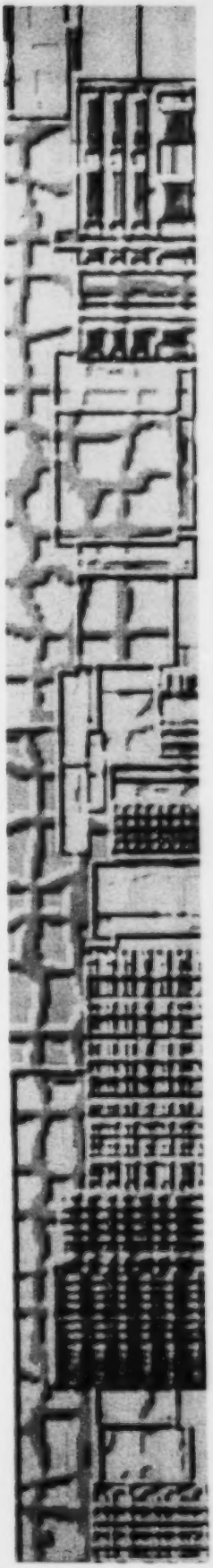
5) The dramatic variations in the demographic composition of the CMAs present unique policy needs and challenges, and prevent broad generalizations about the character of Canadian cities.

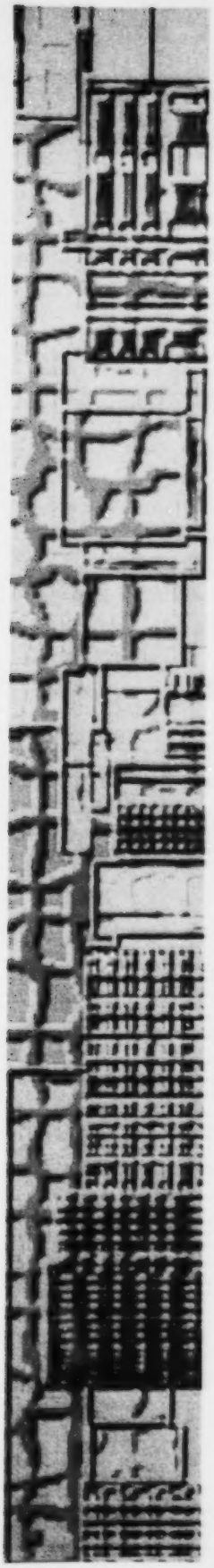
6) The West has dramatically higher reported crime rates than other regions. This is true for the region as a whole, and for large cities in the region.

7) Total crime is not correlated with urban centres. There is little evidence to support the contention that crime (as measured by all criminal code offenses) is higher in Canada's large cities as compared to smaller cities and rural areas of the country. However, there are regional and provincial variations to this national pattern, and CMAs are more likely to experience property crimes.

8) Cities are prime locales for much of Canada's economic activity, yet the economic potential of Canadian cities, as measured by a number of indicators, varies across the country.

Overall, *Cities@2000: Canada's Urban Landscape* demonstrates that Canada is becoming increasingly urbanized. Cities drive the Canadian economy, and enrich Canadian life through the diversity of their populations. *Cities@2000: Canada's Urban Landscape* also demonstrates that the cities vary greatly in their urbanity, social nature and economic realities. Due to this high degree of variation, Canada's cities each have unique policy needs and opportunities. A single "one-size-fits-all" policy strategy is inappropriate: policies that are effective in one city will not necessarily translate into success in another. The implication is that municipal governments require the flexibility to meet their cities' unique needs – flexibility not currently granted in constitutional or legislative terms. The role of municipalities within federalism must be reconsidered to reflect current social, economic and political realities.





Future Research Agenda

The *Cities@2000: Canada's Urban Landscape* findings present the foundation for further urban governance research. There are five broad objectives facing Canadian urban researchers:

1) To orchestrate research on the role of Canadian cities in the 21st century, and assess the appropriate role and powers of municipal governments in Canadian federalism.

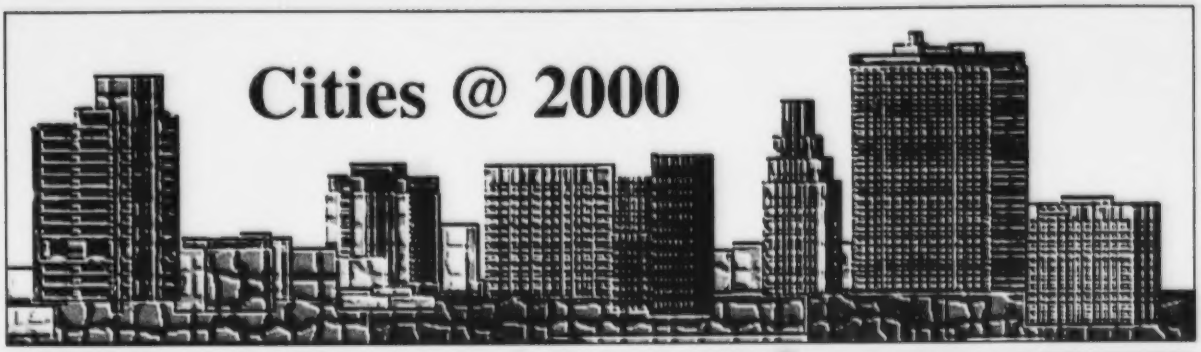
2) To identify the policy challenges faced by Canadian cities, and best practices in resolving such policy challenges.

3) To place the growing importance of Canadian cities within the context of globalization, and the related contexts of economic transformation and new electronic technologies.

4) To promote continued research on Canadian cities and urban governance by establishing a research network.

5) To promote public awareness of the growing importance of cities to the economic, social and cultural lives of Canadians.

In its research agenda, *Cities@2000: Canada's Urban Landscape* presents a number of strategies to meet these objectives. If Canadian municipal, provincial and federal governments promote and advance this proposed agenda, the findings will greatly enhance both the study and practice of urban governance for years to come.



CANADA'S URBAN LANDSCAPE: New Trends, Emerging Issues

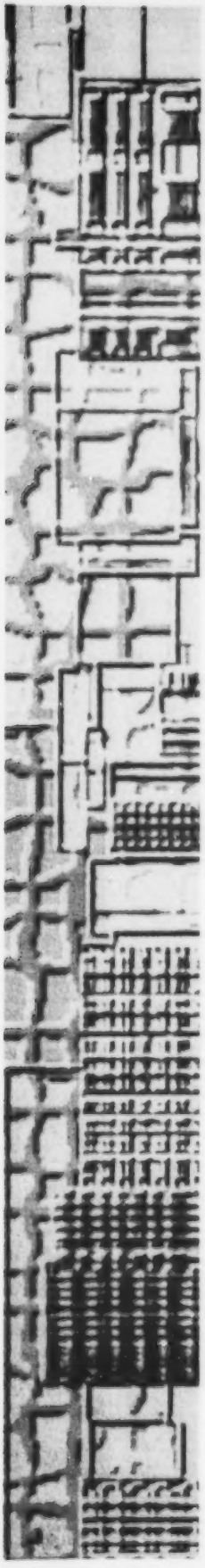
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

BACKGROUND

Throughout the 1990s, cities across Canada have played an increasingly important role in the economic, political, and social lives of Canadians. In the decades to come, this trend will likely accelerate. As Canada passes into the 21st century, the process of urbanization continues unabated, molding and reshaping the national landscape. The great bulk of Canadians now live in urban environments, and this is true for both the country at large and most of its component regions. Canada is no longer a nation of rural dwellers, and this reflects one of the most important and dramatic demographic changes of the last century – a huge shift from the countryside to the village, town, and city. In 1871, the year of the first national census following Confederation, only one in five Canadians lived in an incorporated urban centre. In 1996, four out of every five Canadians (78%) were urban. With that in mind, it is appropriate to pause and reflect on Canada's experience with urbanization, the ascendancy of cities, and how both impact upon the way the nation is governed.

The fact that most Canadians now live in urban environments is not a strikingly new finding, nor is it particularly surprising. However, it is only recently that cities and their governance have come to demand serious attention. In the 1990s, cities – or more properly the citizens who live in them – have shown themselves to be primary drivers of economic development, and municipal governments and community-based non-profit organizations have begun to play a major role in both the design and delivery of a host of social services. As a result, decisions made by local entities such as the *Capital Regional Health Authority* in Edmonton or the *Saskatoon District Health Board* could have just as great an impact on health care as would any new federal-provincial health accord.

In addition, cities are positioning themselves on the world stage. Globalization – perhaps the most popular buzzword of the 1990s – speaks not only to business opportunities, increased competitiveness, and the importance of exports to our standard of living; it has also created stronger links between Canada's local communities and the much larger global environment. Events like Montreal's Expo '67, which for the first time highlighted a Canadian world-class city, soon spawned other efforts including the 1976 Montreal Summer Olympics, the marketing efforts of Calgary's Exhibition and Stampede, and the billing of Banff National Park as a world-class



tourist destination. Such "global positioning" is reflected in more contemporary times by Expo '86 in Vancouver, the 1988 Winter Olympics in Calgary, the 1992 and 1993 World Series in Toronto and, most recently, the 1999 Pan-Am Games in Winnipeg. Cities across the board are heavily engaged in international promotion, and often do so without reference to their provincial location.

Recognizing the growing importance of cities to Canadians, the Canada West Foundation has launched a new project entitled *Western Cities*. The purpose of this project is to explore the opportunities and address the challenges facing our country's municipal governments, with a particular focus on urban places in the West. The project incorporates an ambitious research agenda designed to call attention to new urban realities, and to link that attention to sound research and argumentation on the appropriate design of political, social and economic relationships for the 21st century.

Cities @ 2000: Premise

This report, *Cities @ 2000*, is the first in a series highlighting the importance of local government, pointing to the issues and challenges it faces, and exploring how communities can best come to grips with those challenges. Our premise is straightforward: municipal governments play an important role in the lives of many Canadians. In the last ten years, municipal authorities have come to take on more and more responsibilities. This trend began slowly with various deficit-cutting measures at the federal and provincial levels, and the subsequent "downloading" that accompanied them. As the 1990s wore on, this shift accelerated as the notions of "community-based" solutions, "local control" and "subsidiarity" entered the lexicon of government restructuring.

At the same time, however, municipal governments and the issues with which they grapple are seldom the focus of Canadians. This is clearly evident in the country's political discourse, the bulk of which revolves around the federal-provincial axis. The huge demographic shift toward increased urbanization and the expanded role for municipal government have not been matched by changes in formal patterns of governance. Throughout the 1990s, it has become amply clear that municipal governments are increasingly called upon to shoulder more responsibility for a host of public services, yet they remain tucked into restrictive provincial legislative frameworks. As such, they possess only limited legislative powers and fiscal capacity – a state of affairs reflecting more the needs and realities of 1900 than the needs and realities of 2000.

The local dimension of Canada's governance has laid dormant for much of the century. Municipal governments are not incorporated into the theory or institutions of Canadian federal governance, reflecting a large discrepancy between political powers and political practice. As a consequence, municipal governments may not have the necessary tools to fulfill their current mandate, leading one to conclude that the design of Canada's political institutions may be at odds with the realities of our urban lives. The costs associated with this "misfit" of institutions and reality are intangible, but they do exist. And, those costs are borne not only by municipal governments, but by four out of every five Canadians who today live in our country's cities, towns, and villages.

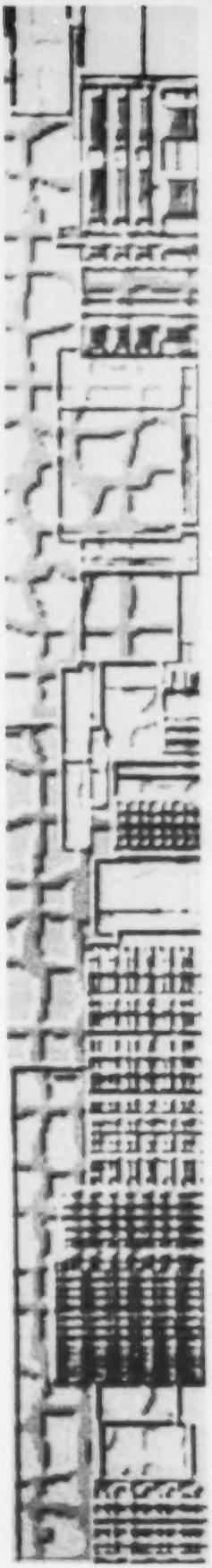
If municipal governments are to effectively confront the issues that now challenge them, is it necessary to modify the existing patterns of governance in Canada? Specifically, do municipal governments need increased powers and resources to meet their current political responsibilities? The answers to these important questions are not clear, and they are compounded by a seeming lack of incentive for federal and provincial governments to formally decentralize powers to the municipal level. Thus, what is needed now are new ideas on designing political institutions that are in line with the urban realities of Canadian life.

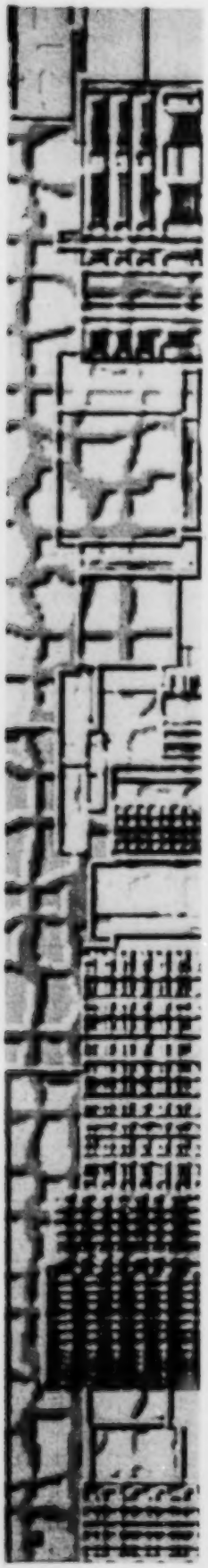
Cities @ 2000: Purpose

Cities @ 2000: Canada's Urban Landscape is not intended to definitively prove that cities require expanded legislative capabilities. Rather, the study has a number of objectives intended to ***begin*** exploring the premise that cities are important components of governance in Canada and therefore require a certain modicum of autonomy and legislative powers. These objectives are:

1) Detailing how urbanization has proceeded in Canada within a national, regional, and provincial context: In chapter two, this study attempts to clarify the term "urban" and outlines Canada's experience with the process of urbanization over the last 30 years. Particular emphasis will be placed on the experience of the seven major Western metropolitan centres as compared to those in the rest of the country. This empirical foundation provides a valuable window on the current urban landscape in Canada and how it has changed.

2) Constructing a profile of Canadian cities based on population growth, demographic change, and a variety of social and economic indicators: The profiling exercise presented in chapter three demonstrates that no two cities in Canada are the same. Each city possesses different attributes and characteristics, different financial and human resources, and different opportunities and challenges. This is an important, argument for at least a modest degree





of autonomy, legislative flexibility, and better access to a wider array of policy tools. The profiling component of this study is designed to help Canadians understand the changes that cities are undergoing, the degree of similarity between them, and the critical differences that set them apart. In other words, how are Vancouver and Winnipeg similar, and how are they different? What sets a Hamilton apart from a Halifax, or a Calgary from a Chicoutimi?

3) Constructing a future research agenda to address the issues facing municipal governments: The descriptive profiling provides the necessary context for a wide variety of specific "urban" issues, and allows us to build a preliminary issue agenda that can be expanded upon in future studies. Chapter four concludes this report with an outline for an effective research agenda to address the issues which emerge from our profiling exercise. While *Cities @ 2000* considers how Canada arrived at this point on the urban road, the research agenda looks toward the horizon to determine which direction Canadian urban research needs to take.

The reader should note that the profiling exercise is not meant to be a comprehensive effort; it is intended only to highlight some of the more important similarities and unique features of Canada's cities. While the report is written from a national perspective in the sense that it presents statistical data designed to compare the large metropolitan centres across Canada, the central focus for the *Cities @ 2000* project is to address trends and issues within the context of the seven metros located in the four western provinces. At the same time, it is important not to assume or overstate the degree of similarity between cities within the western region. There are similarities to be sure, but the fact that Vancouver, Calgary, Regina, and Winnipeg are all western Canadian cities does not in itself imply a common set of urban concerns and priorities. As we will see, the profile and emerging issue agendas of western Canadian cities do differ sharply in some respects.

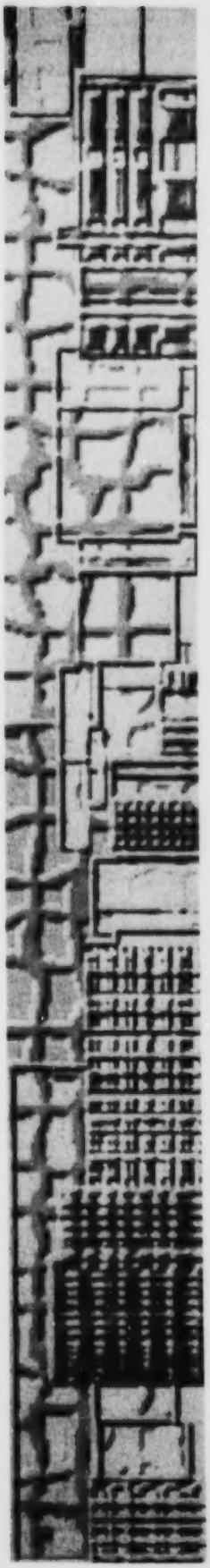
The study will demonstrate that the urban West is different in a number of ways from other urban areas in the country, and what happens in the West should be of interest to those living elsewhere. It is not our intent to build an argument for regional distinctiveness, nor is it our contention that the western Canadian scene is completely unique from areas in the rest of the country. Neither is it our intention to engage in a ranking of Canadian cities based on the information we have gathered. Rather, our aim is to simply demonstrate that cities are important to Canada's governance, that they face a wide array of issues, and these two facts resonate as loudly in the West as they do in other areas of the country.

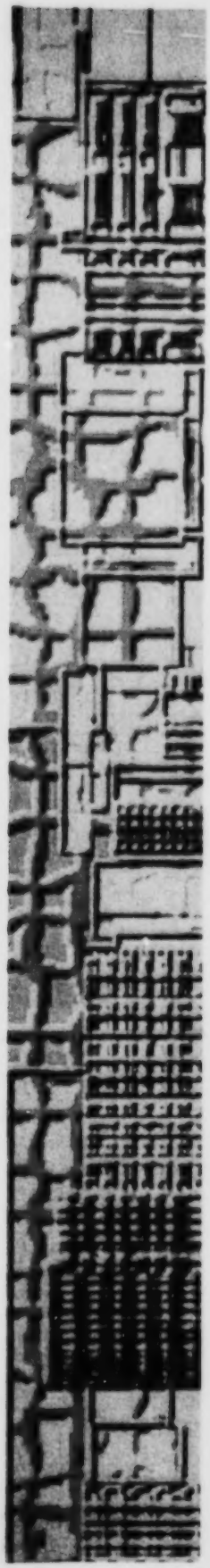
METHODOLOGY

The study does not purport to describe cities based on some unique or superior criteria developed by Canada West Foundation. Rather, this report is an effort in data collection and synthesis – the pulling together of existing statistics from a range of credible sources into one accessible and reasonably comprehensive volume. Canada West Foundation has accessed publicly available data provided by Statistics Canada, the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, the Canadian Almanac and Directory, the Canadian Real Estate Board, the Canadian Global Almanac, Revenue Canada, the Dominion Bond Rating Service, various provincial statistical bureaus and services, and the cities themselves. In all cases, the most recent available and comparable data were used. For some data sources, figures are very recent (new housing price indexes) while for others, the figures are less current but still useful for detecting trends over time (1996 census data). Using data published by external sources has both advantages and disadvantages. On the one hand, such an approach is relatively cost-effective, but on the other, it does present the problem of differing assumptions and methodologies which impact upon the usefulness of the data and the reliability of the final conclusions.

In pursuing serious research on Canadian urban trends and the changing face of Canada's cities, one is confronted with a number of methodological problems that are not readily apparent, but eventually make themselves known. This fact is echoed by a working paper distributed under Statistics Canada's "geography series" entitled *The Municipal Structure in Canada: Problems it Creates for Users of Statistics.* [1] The introduction to this working paper highlights the essence of the concern when it states that municipalities fall under provincial legislation. As such, each province employs a different organizational structure, set of rules, and nomenclature to describe and manage their municipalities. This problem makes itself felt in data that often lacks clarity, comparability, stability, consistency, and coverage. The frustrations are abundant, so several points need to be made right from the outset:

1) Widely different nomenclature and municipal organization: Statistics on urban entities in one province are not always comparable to statistics on similar entities in other provinces simply because the nomenclature and organization of municipalities differ so widely. Using the concept of the "incorporated" centre as a base of urban comparison is a particularly perilous exercise, but one that is unavoidable in some contexts. In Saskatchewan, for example, any urban centre over 5,000 is considered a city, while in Alberta such a centre needs at least 10,000 people. In Manitoba, the requirement is 7,500 residents and the entity must also have at least 400 people per square kilometer. This problem is compounded by the organizational structure employed by British Columbia, where the





requirements for villages, towns, and cities are not applied strictly. As such, there are "cities" in that province with less than 1,000 residents, and "towns" with populations over 10,000. In the Alberta setting, one can be quite confident that a "municipal district" is a wholly rural entity, but there is no similar guarantee for British Columbia. In that province, "district municipalities" include urban centres like West and North Vancouver, Esquimalt, Saanich, and Delta, which should be considered urban entities if only because they include a large number of people and have population densities that compare to other cities across the country. Adding to the confusion are numerous cases across Canada like the district municipality of Chilliwack where the urban "city" and the rural "township" were merged into one legal entity in 1980. Making distinctions between urban and rural residents in this context can be very difficult indeed.

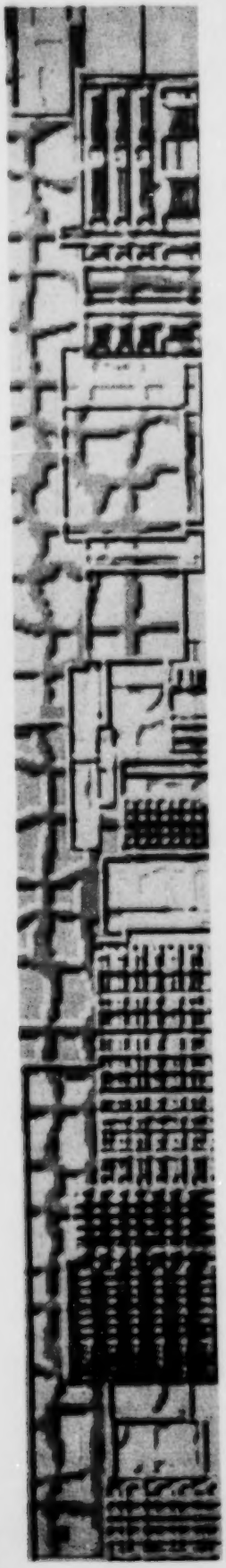
Added to these problems is the changing nature of cities themselves, whose legal boundaries are continually in flux. In addition, new urban entities constantly appear on the scene for which there is no readily available historical data. For example, the City of Colwood, BC was incorporated in 1985, and while it is a sizeable city, there is little data on that entity prior to its incorporation – it did not exist in the same form as it does now.

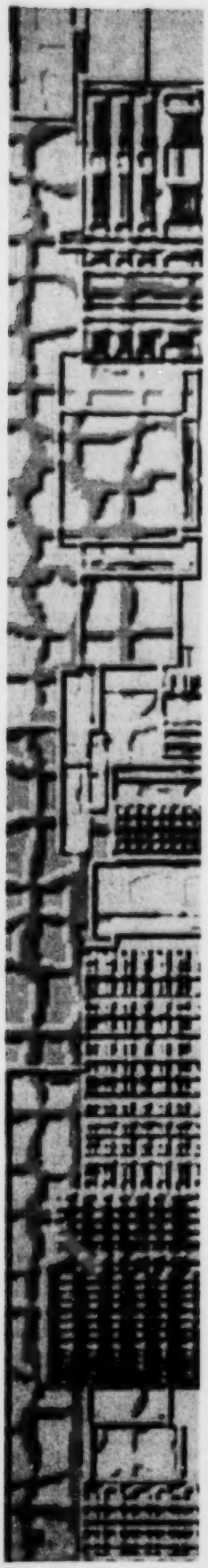
2) Census data: One way around these problems is to rely on Statistics Canada census data which attempts to compensate for the differences in municipal organization by establishing a standardized definition of an urban centre regardless of the official "legal" description used by the province. This is a helpful approach, but the census data also have limitations since the baselines have shifted over time. For example, the population of the Calgary census metropolitan area (CMA) in 1966 comprised only those living in the city proper. In 1996, the Calgary CMA included the city of Airdrie, the towns of Beiseker, Chestermere, Cochrane, Crossfield, and Irricana, and several rural areas in between. Because this problem is replicated throughout the census data, it is clear that one is not always measuring the same entity, particularly over longer periods of time. This can result in inflated growth figures.

3) Municipal Statistics: Statistics Canada does not provide all the relevant indicators of interest for all cities. Laval for example, a city of over 300,000 near Montreal, is often absorbed into the greater Montreal area, and few statistics are available for Laval as a separate entity. As a result, the cities themselves are important sources for some data. But since each city has latitude in establishing its own assumptions and methodologies, comparability again becomes an issue. This problem can be alleviated, but not entirely solved, by using other outside sources such as Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation for housing data.

Clearly, empirical research on urban places is not a straightforward task, and it is only small comfort to know that little can be done without redrawing the problem and committing significant financial and human resources to solving it. This is obviously outside the scope of this effort, and we must live with a number of limitations which require provisos on the interpretation of the data. Despite the difficulties, it is nonetheless valuable to take a picture of urban Canada, even if that picture cannot be brought as sharply into focus as we would like.

This paper attempts to negotiate the statistical landmines in a number of ways. To the extent possible, Canada West has attempted to draw data from sources that provide the best comparability. When comparability is clearly an issue, the necessary provisos will be applied and the difficulties will be pointed out as clearly as possible. In turn, the reader needs to pay close attention to these caveats and respect our methodological concerns by not overstating or oversimplifying the conclusions that emerge. With that said, we can now move on to examine the process of urbanization in the Canadian context, and constructing a profile and research agenda for Canada's urban places.





CHAPTER TWO: URBANIZATION IN CANADA

ASSESSING THE TERM

The term urbanization does not easily lend itself to a precise or mutually agreed upon definition. At first glance, most of us realize that the term is somehow reflective of city life, and the *Oxford Dictionary* echoes this by defining urban as "living or situated in a town or city." [2] While the term urban is typically used as a synonym for the city, the two are not the same – all cities are clearly urban areas, but not all urban areas are cities. In other words, urban is a statistical term that can be defined in numerous ways. [3]

Historically in Britain, "cities" were simply towns which possessed both a cathedral and a royal charter. This definition became blurred as population growth and industrialization produced large numbers of urban settlements with neither cathedral nor charter. [4] In Canada, the term has undergone numerous changes over the years (see *discussion box* on page 9) but has today come to mean anyone living in a centre of more than 1,000 persons with a population density of 400 people per square kilometer. Such a centre can be legally "incorporated" or "unincorporated." In the United States, urban Americans are only those who live in an "incorporated" centre in excess of 2,500 persons.

Differing definitions are only part of the problem. The whole notion of urbanization is somewhat arbitrary, and it resists attempts at quantification. In other words, why is the urban cut-off in Canada established at 1,000 and not 2,500 like in the United States? Why is the cut-off at 400 persons per square kilometer instead of 450 or 500? The point is that all measures are reasonable to a certain extent, and the cut-off has to be made somewhere – even if it is arbitrary and cannot be defended in an absolute sense.

As a result of the slippery nature of urbanization, most commentators have simply come to rely on "common sense" when approaching the issue. It is generally agreed that useful definitions of urbanization result from the intersection of three or four critical factors, none of which can be precisely defined, but which together provide a guide. They include: 1) population size; 2) population density; 3) a degree of geographical independence from other similar settlements; and 4) the ability to carry out certain functions for the community in a meaningful way. Thus, entities with large populations that are relatively dense and carry out certain economic, political and social functions as a unit separate from others can be considered urban. These entities differ from "rural" areas in that the latter have lower populations and densities, and are less organized as functioning political units.

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The Changing Definition of an "Urban" Canadian

As research and thinking about urbanization has developed, so have the definitions of what constitutes an "urban" or a "rural" Canadian. Changing definitions do not allow for easy comparisons over time, but they are a natural outgrowth of a relatively arbitrary term such as urbanization. Here are the official designations that Canada has used in the past:

1) 1871-1941: Urban Canadians are those living in any incorporated village, town or city regardless of size or population density.

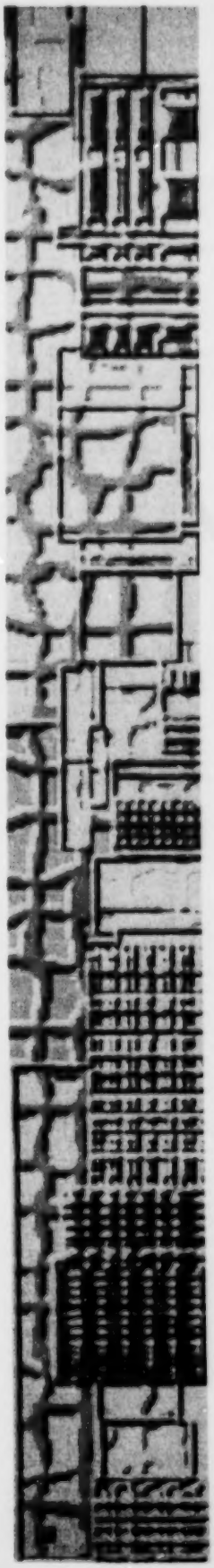
2) 1951: Urban Canadians are those living in incorporated or unincorporated cities, towns and villages of 1,000 and over, plus the urban fringes of all large cities (census metropolitan areas).

3) 1956: Urban Canadians are those living in incorporated or unincorporated cities, towns and villages of 1,000 and over, plus the urban fringes of all large cities (census metropolitan areas) and smaller cities of between 25,000 to 50,000 (census agglomerations).

4) 1961-1971: Urban Canadians are those living in incorporated cities, towns and villages of 1,000 and over, plus unincorporated places of 1,000 and over with a population density of at least 1,000 persons per square mile, plus the continuous built-up fringes of such places if they have a similar population and density.

5) 1976: Urban Canadians are those living in an area having a population concentration of 1,000 or more and a population density of at least 1,000 per square mile.

6) 1981 - Present: Urban Canadians are those living in an area having a population concentration of 1,000 or more and a population density of at least 400 persons per square kilometer.



Popular images of the Canadian landscape vary dramatically. Images of the West often pick up on the historical agricultural base of the prairie provinces with tractors working huge grain fields beneath an immense sky, or the region's vast resources as seen through solitary pump jacks strewn across Alberta's rural oil fields, or the uninhabited timber reserves of British Columbia. Popular images of Central Canada tend to focus more on the urban concentration in Ontario's southern peninsula and the CN Tower, which looms over almost one-fifth of the country's entire population. In Quebec it is much the same image, with cities such as Trois-Rivieres and the historic cities of Montreal and Quebec City along the banks of the St. Lawrence. In Atlantic Canada, it is the small yet numerous fishing villages and the "outposts" of Newfoundland that tend to dominate the popular imagination. Because images of Canada are so different, and it is not at all clear that they match up with the current reality, it is important to first pull the extent and evolution of urbanization in Canada into focus.

The Changing Definition of an "Urban" Canadian

As research and thinking about urbanization has developed, so have the definitions of what constitutes an "urban" or a "rural" Canadian. Changing definitions do not allow for easy comparisons over time, but they are a natural outgrowth of a relatively arbitrary term such as urbanization. Here are the official designations that Canada has used in the past:

1) 1871-1941: Urban Canadians are those living in any incorporated village, town or city regardless of size or population density.

2) 1951: Urban Canadians are those living in incorporated or unincorporated cities, towns and villages of 1,000 and over, plus the urban fringes of all large cities (census metropolitan areas).

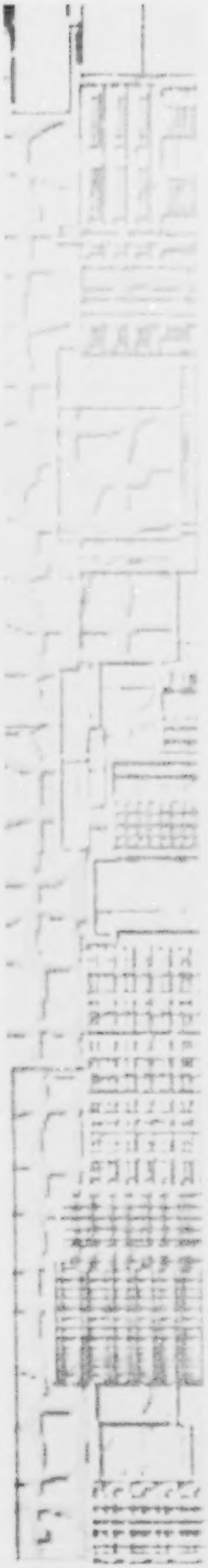
3) 1956: Urban Canadians are those living in incorporated or unincorporated cities, towns and villages of 1,000 and over, plus the urban fringes of all large cities (census metropolitan areas) and smaller cities of between 25,000 to 50,000 (census agglomerations).

4) 1961-1971: Urban Canadians are those living in incorporated cities, towns and villages of 1,000 and over, plus unincorporated places of 1,000 and over with a population density of at least 1,000 persons per square mile, plus the continuous built-up fringes of such places if they have a similar population and density.

5) 1976: Urban Canadians are those living in an area having a population concentration of 1,000 or more and a population density of at least 1,000 per square mile.

6) 1981 - Present: Urban Canadians are those living in an area having a population concentration of 1,000 or more and a population density of at least 400 persons per square kilometer.

Popular images of the Canadian landscape vary dramatically. Images of the West often pick up on the historical agricultural base of the prairie provinces with tractors working huge grain fields beneath an immense sky, or the region's vast resources as seen through solitary pump jacks strewn across Alberta's rural oil fields, or the uninhabited timber reserves of British Columbia. Popular images of Central Canada tend to focus more on the urban concentration in Ontario's southern peninsula and the CN Tower, which looms over almost one-fifth of the country's entire population. In Quebec it is much the same image, with cities such as Trois-Rivieres and the historic cities of Montreal and Quebec City along the banks of the St. Lawrence. In Atlantic Canada, it is the small yet numerous fishing villages and the "outposts" of Newfoundland that tend to dominate the popular imagination. Because images of Canada are so different, and it is not at all clear that they match up with the current reality, it is important to first pull the extent and evolution of urbanization in Canada into focus.



The term urbanization presents a number of difficulties which are compounded by the continually changing nature of cities themselves. As such, comparisons of urbanization levels, urban growth rates, and even city size can be somewhat misleading. Rather than relying on a single measure, the extent of urbanization for any given province, region, or country is best expressed using a variety of measures, which together provide a more accurate and comprehensive view. Each has its own unique characteristics to recommend it, and each touches on the concept in different ways.

URBANIZATION MEASURE I: A Broad Definition

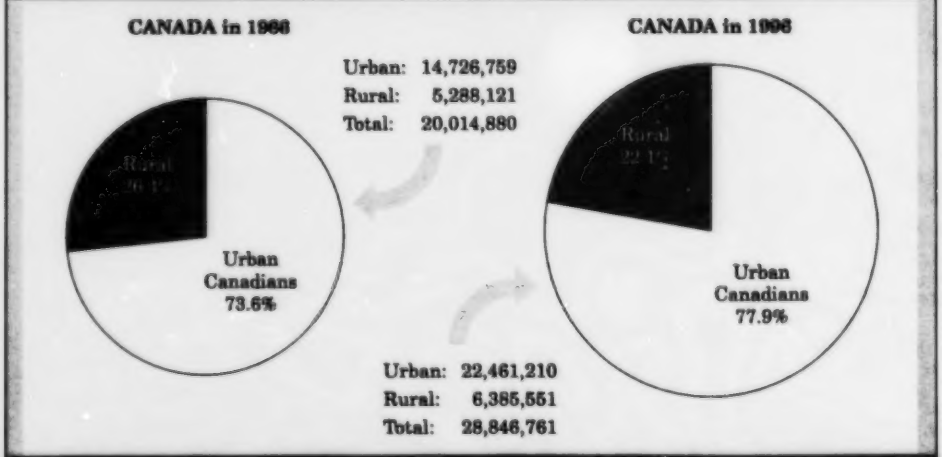
The Data

Figure 1 shows the essential data for the country as a whole using Statistics Canada's broad definition of urban: anyone living in a centre with more than 1,000 people and a population density of 400 per square kilometer. Since 1966, Canada's total population has grown by about 44%. Of that growth, almost nine-tenths (88%) has occurred in urban areas with very little taking place in Canada's rural areas. This does not mean that rural Canada is any "smaller" today than it was 30 years ago. In fact, the number of rural Canadians has grown by about 1.1 million since 1966. However, the number of urban Canadians increased by almost 8 million over the same time period, dwarfing rural growth and continuing the trend of urbanization in Canada.

The RATE of Urbanization

The differences in urban and rural population growth over the last 30 years is stark, yet it has managed to yield only a small difference in the actual ***urbanization rate*** (the proportion of a population living in an urban centre). With the urbanization rate increasing only slightly from 74% in 1966 to 78% in 1996, one is left with the impression that not much has really changed. However, the story of urbanization in Canada is complex, and the national data mask some very important developments on the regional and provincial scene.

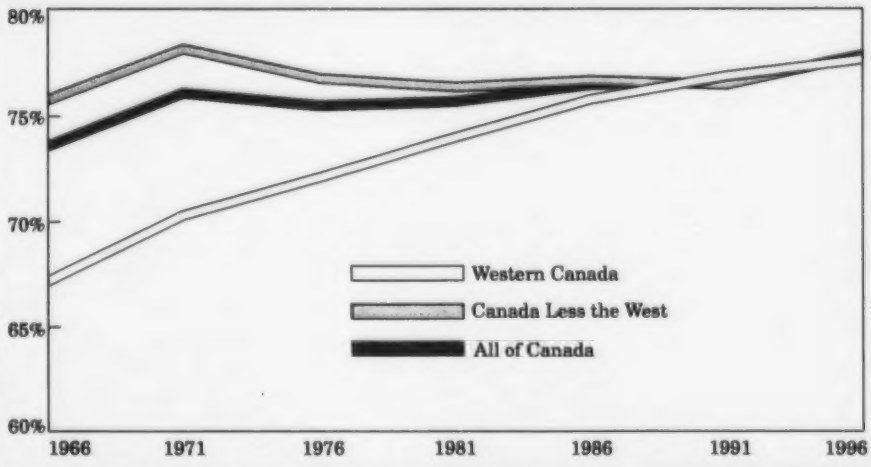
FIGURE 1: % of Canadians Living in Centres of 1,000 or More (1966 and 1996)



SOURCE: Developed by Canada West from Statistics Canada Census Reports, 1966 to 1996

Figure 2 shows the progressive urbanization of Western Canada compared to the rest of Canada and the country as a whole. As noted earlier, the definition of "urban" has changed during this period, and this is reflected by a small "bump" in 1971 – a rising urbanization rate followed by a slight decline in 1976. Despite the methodological irregularities of the data, the graphic makes a clear point. Thirty years ago, the West did lag behind the rest of Canada in terms of the proportion of its population living in urban centres over 1,000 residents. While the difference was relatively modest (approximately ten percentage points) it has completely disappeared today. Urbanization in Canada, when assessed on a regional basis focusing on the West, shows a clear pattern of convergence – the same proportion of people in the West as in the rest of the country live in centres considered "urban."

FIGURE 2: Percentage of Population in Centres of 1,000 or More (1966-1996)



SOURCE: Derived by Canada West from Statistics Canada Census Reports, 1966 to 1996

The variation in urbanization rates across the provinces and territories is shown in *Figure 3* (page 12). Two important findings emerge from this data. First, when the figures are broken out by province, it becomes clear that urbanization rates vary widely across the country. In general, Northern and Atlantic Canada have significantly lower rates of urbanization, while the Central and Western Canadian provinces have higher rates. Within the West, the highest rates of urbanization are found in British Columbia and Alberta, which are also by far the largest provinces in the region. There is little difference in the urbanization rate between these two provinces, and they appear quite similar to the level of urbanization in Ontario and Quebec. Saskatchewan and Manitoba present a slightly different picture, both having somewhat lower rates of urbanization. Manitoba tends to statistically lie in the middle of the West, and Saskatchewan – the most agriculturally-based of the four western provinces – is the clear outlier. While these two provinces do have fewer people living in centres over 1,000 people, they are still more "urbanized" on this measure than provinces in Atlantic Canada or the two Northern territories.

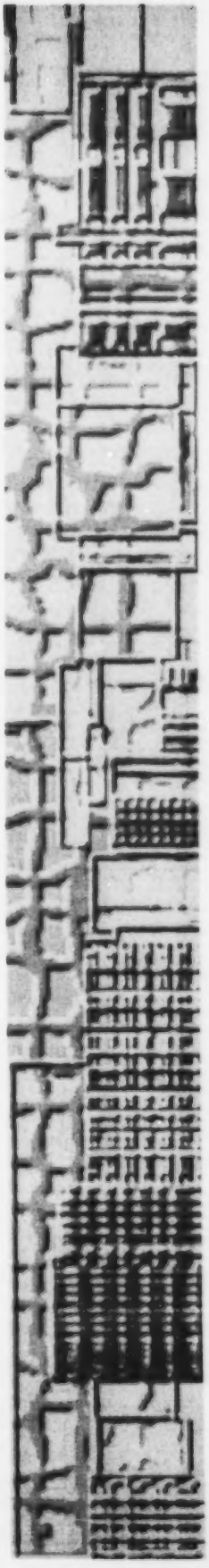


FIGURE 3: Data Set For First Urbanization Measure

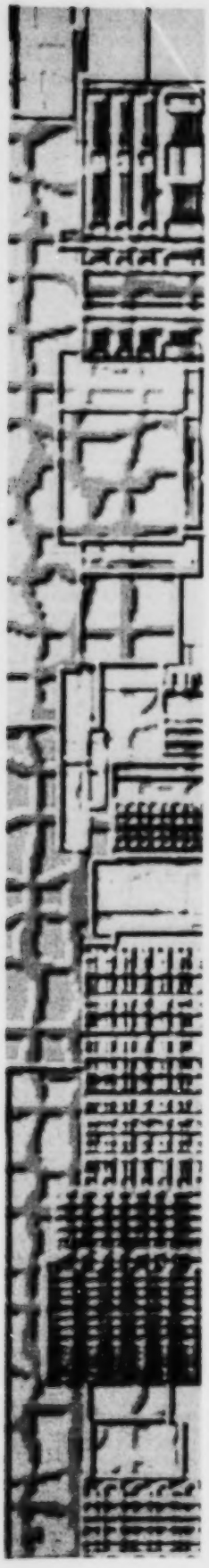
	Urbanization Rates			Growth in Total Population, Urban & Rural Population		
	% of Pop That is Urban, 1966	% of Pop That is Urban, 1996	% Change in Rate	% Growth in Total Population	% Growth in Urban Population	% Growth in Rural Population
Canada	73.6%	77.9%	+ 5.8%	44.1%	52.5%	12.4%
Canada Less West	75.8%	77.9%	+ 2.8%	37.7%	41.4%	25.9%
Western Canada	67.2%	77.7%	+ 15.6%	62.2%	87.6%	10.2%
Central Canada	79.4%	81.4%	+ 2.5%	40.4%	43.9%	27.2%
Atlantic Canada	53.6%	52.8%	– 1.5%	18.2%	16.5%	20.2%
Northern Canada	42.6%	48.2%	+ 13.1%	120.7%	149.7%	99.2%
British Columbia	75.3%	82.1%	+ 9.0%	98.8%	116.8%	44.0%
Alberta	68.8%	79.5%	+ 15.6%	84.3%	112.8%	21.5%
Saskatchewan	49.0%	63.3%	+ 29.2%	3.7%	33.9%	– 25.5%
Manitoba	67.1%	71.8%	+ 7.0%	15.7%	23.8%	– 1.0%
Ontario	80.4%	83.3%	+ 3.6%	54.5%	60.2%	31.3%
Quebec	78.3%	78.4%	– 0.1%	23.5%	23.7%	22.7%
Nova Scotia	58.1%	54.8%	– 5.7%	20.3%	13.4%	29.7%
New Brunswick	50.6%	48.8%	– 3.6%	19.7%	15.4%	24.0%
Newfoundland	54.1%	56.9%	+ 5.2%	11.8%	17.7%	5.0%
Prince Edward Island	36.6%	44.2%	+ 20.8%	24.0%	49.6%	9.2%
Northwest Territories	40.1%	42.5%	+ 5.9%	124.1%	137.5%	115.1%
Yukon Territory	47.5%	60.0%	+ 26.3%	113.9%	170.2%	63.1%

SOURCE: Derived by CWF from 1966 & 1996 Census Reports

NOTE: Data is presented according the the official definition used by Statistics Canada at the time of that particular census. This definition varied slightly.

FIGURE 4: Data Set For First Urbanization Measure (Continued)

	Growth in Urban & Rural Population as Percent of Growth in Total Population			Provincial and Regional Contributions to Urban Growth in Canada		
	Increase in Total Population	Urban Growth as % of Total Growth	Rural Growth as % of Total Growth	% of Canada's Population 1966	% of Canada's Population 1996	Contribution to Canada's Urban Growth
Canada	8,831,881	87.6%	12.4%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Canada Less West	5,561,707	83.4%	16.6%	73.7%	70.4%	60.0%
Western Canada	3,270,174	94.6%	5.4%	26.2%	29.6%	40.0%
Central Canada	5,150,653	86.2%	13.8%	63.7%	62.0%	57.4%
Atlantic Canada	359,048	48.5%	51.5%	9.9%	8.1%	2.2%
Northern Canada	52,048	52.8%	47.2%	0.2%	0.3%	0.4%
British Columbia	1,850,826	89.0%	11.0%	9.4%	12.9%	21.3%
Alberta	1,233,623	92.0%	8.0%	7.3%	9.3%	14.7%
Saskatchewan	34,893	100.0%	0.0%	4.8%	3.4%	2.1%
Manitoba	150,832	100.0%	0.0%	4.8%	3.9%	2.0%
Ontario	3,792,703	88.7%	11.3%	34.8%	37.2%	43.5%
Quebec	1,357,950	79.0%	21.0%	28.9%	24.7%	13.9%
Nova Scotia	153,243	38.5%	61.5%	3.8%	3.2%	0.8%
New Brunswick	121,345	39.7%	60.3%	3.1%	2.6%	0.6%
Newfoundland	58,396	80.7%	19.3%	2.5%	1.9%	0.6%
Prince Edward Island	26,022	75.8%	24.2%	0.5%	0.5%	0.2%
Northwest Territories	35,664	44.5%	55.5%	0.1%	0.2%	0.2%
Yukon Territory	16,384	70.9%	29.1%	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%
SOURCE: Derived by CWF from 1966 & 1996 Census Reports	NOTE: Data is presented according the the official definition used by Statistics Canada at the time of that particular census. This definition varied slightly.					



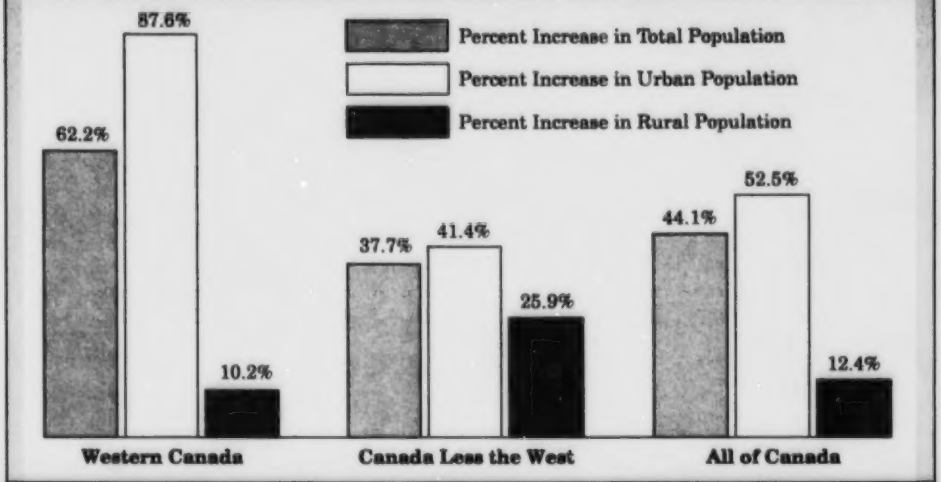
Second, the data suggest that the process of urbanization in Canada over the last 30 years has been closely tied to developments on the urban front in Western Canada. With the exception of Prince Edward Island and the two territories, urbanization rates in the Western provinces have advanced much further than rates in other provinces. Comparing the Western region with other regions, the West has seen the largest increase in its urbanization rate (16%). Central Canada's rate has grown by only 3%, and Atlantic Canada's rate has actually fallen. Interestingly, the popular image of urbanization in Western Canada revolves around a "booming" Calgary or a "burgeoning" Vancouver, but it is the province of Saskatchewan that has seen the largest single increase in its urbanization rate (29%). To be sure, Saskatchewan remains the outlier in terms of urbanization in the West, and therefore has a long way to go if it is to catch up with the national average. However, it is also clear that the urban-rural face of that province is changing just as dramatically as either British Columbia or Alberta.

Percentage GROWTH in The Number of Urban Canadians

Focusing on the *rate of urbanization* alone provides only a partial view of the changes that have taken place across the country. Urbanization rates are the product of three intersecting factors – urban growth, rural growth and total population growth. Understanding how these three factors have interacted over the last 30 years to produce today's rates is crucial if we are to understand urbanization in Canada. For example, a province can show an increased urbanization rate even though it has experienced no significant growth in its urban areas. In that case, rural depopulation is the primary contributing factor. Similarly, each province is quite different in size, and can thus have a rapidly growing urban population but still fail to significantly impact upon what is happening on the larger national scene. In other words, it is important to look at urban, rural, and total population *growth* (as opposed to urban rates) to better pull urbanization in Canada into focus.

Figure 5 places provincial and regional urbanization rates in context by comparing total population growth over the last 30 years to the growth in the number of urban and rural residents for the West, Canada, and Canada less the West. Two significant findings emerge from this broad regional picture. First, it is clear that Western Canada has experienced a larger increase in its total population over the last 30 years than the rest of Canada, growing by 62% compared to 38% for the rest of the country. Secondly, the West's urban population has also grown more than urban populations in the rest of the country. This is evidenced by the wide gap between the growth of its urban and rural residents. In the West, the number of urban residents has grown by 88% since 1966, but the number of rural residents has only grown by 10%. In short, increased urban residency in the West has outpaced rural residency by a margin of almost nine to one, while for the country as a whole, the ratio is about four to one.

FIGURE 5: Urban, Rural, and Total Population Growth (1966 and 1996)

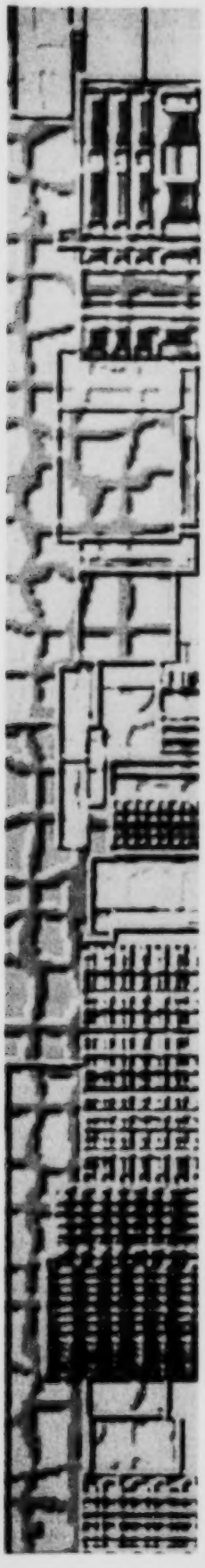


SOURCE: Derived by Canada West from Statistics Canada Census Reports, 1966 to 1996.

Similar data for all of Canada's provinces and regions can be found in *Figure 3* (page 12). A number of interesting findings emerge from this more specific information. First, it is clear that the number of urban residents is growing at very different rates across the full range of Canada's regions and provinces. Northern Canada emerges as the region with the greatest increase in the number of urban residents since 1966 (150%), followed by Western Canada (88%), Central Canada (44%), and Atlantic Canada (17%). The results for the North are somewhat surprising, and result from a unique set of circumstances. Since 1966, that region has seen the greatest total population increase (121%) but has also had the lowest rate of urbanization in Canada (under 50%). Despite the significant growth in the number of its urban residents, the North's low urbanization rate continues as rural areas in the region show strong growth (99% since 1966).

Second, the data show that there have been significant changes in Western Canada with each of the provinces experiencing slightly different urban-rural stresses. For example, Alberta emerges as the province with the greatest divide between its urban and rural growth (113% versus 22%). While urban growth in British Columbia has only slightly outpaced that of Alberta (117%), that province's rural population has grown much more (44%). Total population growth in these two provinces has been very strong, and together they are seeing the highest rates of urban growth in Canada. In the last 30 years, the number of urban residents in these two provinces has grown at a rate almost twice that of Ontario and over five times that of Quebec.

The data also show that Saskatchewan and Manitoba are undergoing intense urban-rural change, but it is being fuelled differently than British Columbia or Alberta, and indeed, the rest of the country. Saskatchewan has seen the largest single increase in its ***urbanization rate***, yet its total population has



not grown significantly over the last 30 years. With only modest growth in the number of its urban residents (34%), it is clear that rural depopulation is responsible for the changing face of Saskatchewan. In fact, population in the rural areas of the province has declined by more than 25% since 1966, thereby increasing the importance of that province's cities. Manitoba has also seen a drop in its rural population since 1966, but the decline has been smaller.

Urban Growth as a PERCENT of All Population Growth

A slightly different way of conceptualizing the growth in the number of urban residents across the country is to link this growth to the overall increase in the total population. This can be done by expressing the increase in urban and rural residents as a percentage of the increase in the total population of a province or region. The relevant data are provided in *Figure 4* on page 13. Again, a number of regional and provincial differences emerge. In the West, growth in the number of urban residents is fully 95% of the region's entire population growth over the last 30 years. This compares to 86% in Central Canada, 49% in Atlantic Canada, and 53% in Northern Canada. While population growth in absolute terms is still dominated by Canada's two largest provinces, the West has seen considerable growth over the last 30 years, and most of it has been "urban" in nature. In other words, when Canadians speak of a growing West, what we are really speaking about are growing "western Canadian cities."

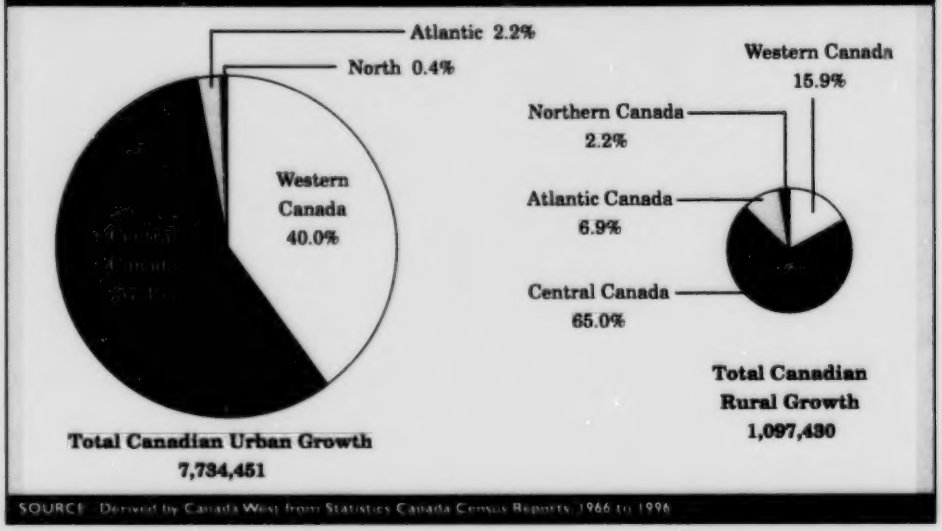
With this measure, a high degree of similarity emerges between the Western provinces. In British Columbia, growth in the number of urban residents reached 89% of that province's total population growth over the last 30 years. Alberta ranks slightly higher on this score at 92%. The effects of rural depopulation in Saskatchewan and Manitoba are evidenced by the fact that urban growth is fully 100% of those two province's total population growth since 1966. With the exception of Ontario, it is only in the Western provinces where growth in the number of urban residents, expressed as a percent of total population growth, exceeds the Canadian average of 88%. Provinces in Atlantic Canada and the two territories are all below the national average, with urban growth in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick at only 40% of those two provinces' total population growth.

CONTRIBUTION to Urban Growth in Canada

Figure 6 provides a parting snapshot of our first urbanization measure by determining the relative contribution made by each region to the total growth in both urban and rural residents in Canada. Over the last 30 years, the increase in the urban population of Central Canada has contributed about 60% to the country's total increase in urban population. The West picks up much of the remainder, comprising

40% of the total urban growth in Canada. Increasing rural residency in the West only contributed 16% to Canada's growing rural population since 1966, while the Central Canadian provinces have contributed 65%.

FIGURE 6: % Contribution to Urban Growth in Canada (1966 and 1996)

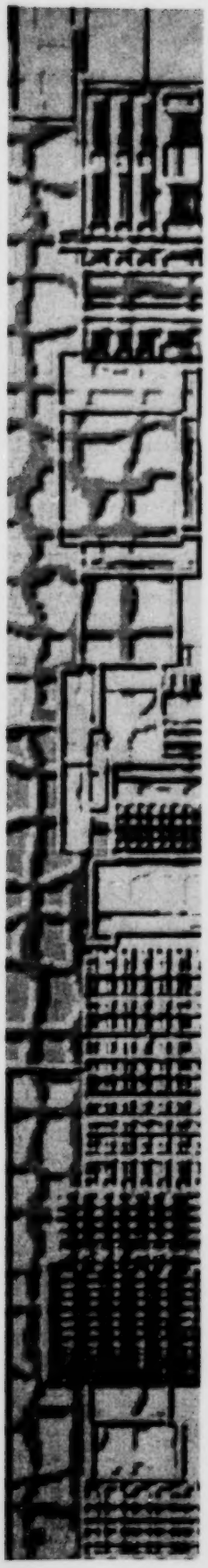


SOURCE: Derived by Canada West from Statistics Canada Census Reports, 1966 to 1996

Figure 4 (page 13) provides a similar analysis by each region and province but places the data in context by showing each province's share of the national population in 1966 and 1996. While only constituting 26% of the population in 1966 and 30% in 1996, the West has nonetheless been responsible for about 40% of the nation's increase in urban residents. Clearly, this sets the West apart since it is the only region in the country that has contributed more to urban growth than its population would mathematically warrant. Much of this has clearly resulted from developments in British Columbia and Alberta. In 1966, these two provinces accounted for well under one-quarter of Canada's population, but by 1996, they were responsible for fully one-third of the increase in the nation's total urban growth. The only other province in the country to contribute more to Canada's urban growth than its population would mathematically warrant is Ontario. While provinces outside the West and Ontario do continue to become more urban, their impact on the national scene has not been felt as sharply.

Measure 1: Primary Conclusions

Although Statistics Canada's definition of "urban" has changed over the last 30 years, and this impacts upon the comparability of the data, the differences that emerge are large enough to suggest a number of important conclusions concerning the process of urbanization in Canada. First, the great majority of Canada's population increase since 1966 has been an increase in the number of urban Canadians. While rural areas have also grown, their advance has been dwarfed by growth in the urban



areas. Second, while Western Canada was less urbanized than the rest of Canada thirty years ago, there is no discernible difference between the West and the rest of the country today. This fact resonates across the West. Although Saskatchewan remains somewhat of an outlier, it is still more urbanized than any province in Atlantic Canada, and it has also seen the single greatest increase in the proportion of its population that is urban. Much of the urban growth in the West is focused in British Columbia and Alberta. Both have an urbanization rate now comparable to Ontario, and both currently exceed that of Quebec. Third, although Canada's overall urbanization rate has increased only slightly, there are wide variations in the rate of urbanization found across the country's regions. Central Canada remains the most "urbanized" on this score, closely followed by the West, and then Atlantic and Northern Canada. Fourth, it is clear that increased urbanization in Canada is closely tied to developments in the West over the last 30 years. Western Canada has experienced more population growth than either Ontario, Quebec, and Atlantic Canada, and growth in the number of its urban residents is 95% of the region's entire increase in total population since 1966.

Growth in the number of urban residents in Western Canada has clearly outpaced growth in its rural residents. This may not be a particularly surprising finding, but it is also no small trend. In fact, this trend has become so pronounced that the region today finds itself responsible for a good portion of the total increase in urban residency across the country. As a result, detailing the experiences of Western cities, and identifying the challenges and opportunities they face, is an endeavour that should be of more than passing interest to Canadians and their public decision-makers.

MEASURE 2: Narrowing the Focus on Urban Size

The number of people living in centres larger than 1,000 residents with a population density of at least 400 per square kilometer is Statistics Canada's official measure of urbanization. Although this broad measure is helpful, it does run the risk of overstating the level of urbanization in Canada. One such example comes out of a StatsCan *Canada Update Report* in which Canadians were described as *"...city-lovers, or so it would appear. More than three-quarters of us live in urban areas, leaving almost nine-tenths of Canada's land mass with no permanent settlement."*[5] The problem is, while all cities are clearly urban, not all urban centres are clearly cities.[6] A small town like Balgonie, Saskatchewan (population 1,132) is much different from a medium-sized city like Brandon, Manitoba (population 39,175) and it is worlds apart from a huge metro like Hamilton (population 624,360). Without refining our measure of urbanization, the concept becomes less meaningful as residents of Balgonie and Hamilton emerge as similarly "urban" Canadians.

In addition, relying solely on a broad measure of urbanization could skew provincial and regional comparisons. For example, the data indicates that Western Canada seems to have grown more urban over the last 30 years, but is this growth simply the result of numerous communities like Bowden, Alberta which recently joined the "urban" club by virtue of moving from 923 people in 1991 to 1,014 in 1996? If this is the case, the West is arguably less urban than we think, and its contributions to increasing urbanization in Canada are much weaker than originally suspected. What is needed is an expansion of our measure which looks at developments in various *sizes* of urban centres. In other words, just where and how is urban growth occurring?

The Data

Comparative data on the size of various urban centres was collected from the 1966 and 1996 census reports, and the results for our discussion appear in ***Figures 7 and 8*** (pages 20 and 21). Several cautions need to be made regarding this information. First, Statistics Canada uses the concept of an "urban core" to place people in the different categories. For example, the City of Victoria has a population of 73,504, but it is placed with cities in the 100,000+ category since part of its surrounding urban areas (Esquimalt, Saanich, Colwood, Sidney, Oak Bay, etc.) form part of the essential "urban core." This is Statistics Canada's method of controlling for the problem of differing incorporation practices across the country.

Second, the two census reports used different categories to present the data. The 1996 census categories are more detailed than those used in 1966, but it was not possible to recategorize the 1966 data to conform to the later presentation. Thus, the 1996 data was modified to conform to the presentation used in 1966. This involved some considerable reorganizing of the data, but we are confident it is reasonably comparable.

Third, like Statistics Canada's definition of urban, it is entirely possible that the concept of "urban core" has changed over the last 30 years, as have the boundaries of such entities. We have modeled our data on the boundaries in existence at the time of the census. This may overstate urbanization in some categories, but where possible, efforts were made to ensure reasonable comparability by adjusting the data at certain places. The problem was particularly acute in Nova Scotia. For that province, the boundaries and data for 1971 were used for all centres with populations under 30,000 since it was not possible to make adjustments to the 1966 figures. This has inflated Nova Scotia's urbanization rate only slightly (0.5%) and has no impact on the larger regional or national scene.

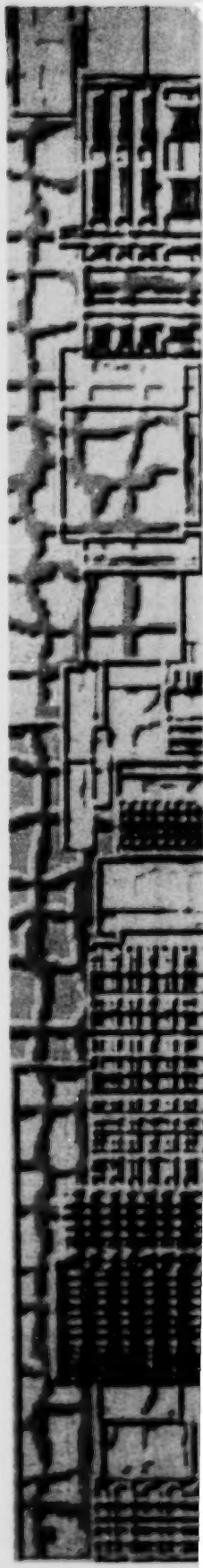


FIGURE 7: Canadians in Various-Sized Urban Centres

Urbanization Rates - Percentage of Urban Population Living in Various Sized Urban Centres

	"LARGE" Centres				"MEDIUM" Centres				"SMALL" Centres					
	500,000+		100,000-499,999		30,000-99,999		10,000-29,999		5,000-9,999		2,500-4,999		1,000-2,499	
	1966	1996	1966	1996	1966	1996	1966	1996	1966	1996	1966	1996	1966	1996
Canada	39.9%	56.2%	23.7%	14.6%	12.4%	11.8%	8.1%	6.9%	5.0%	4.2%	5.5%	3.3%	5.4%	3.0%
Canada Less West	40.5%	56.2%	21.2%	15.8%	15.7%	11.1%	7.2%	7.0%	5.0%	3.8%	5.1%	3.2%	5.3%	2.9%
Western Canada	37.8%	56.2%	31.5%	11.6%	2.0%	13.6%	10.9%	6.7%	5.1%	5.2%	6.8%	3.6%	5.8%	3.1%
Central Canada	44.8%	61.1%	21.7%	14.5%	5.9%	5.8%	5.9%	5.8%	4.2%	3.3%	4.6%	2.8%	4.4%	2.5%
Atlantic Canada	-------	-------	17.4%	31.6%	28.8%	24.0%	19.1%	18.9%	12.5%	9.7%	9.5%	8.9%	12.7%	6.9%
Northern Canada	-------	-------	-------	-------	-------	-------	-------	68.1%	-------	-------	46.4%	22.0%	53.6%	9.9%
British Columbia	59.1%	52.9%	11.0%	13.0%	-------	18.2%	14.2%	8.2%	5.9%	3.0%	6.0%	3.3%	3.8%	1.4%
Alberta	-------	69.3%	70.6%	-------	3.7%	11.1%	6.3%	4.7%	4.0%	8.3%	9.3%	3.8%	6.1%	2.8%
Saskatchewan	-------	-------	52.7%	59.6%	7.1%	11.0%	14.9%	10.5%	5.8%	3.3%	8.4%	5.7%	11.1%	9.9%
Manitoba	77.4%	77.7%	-------	-------	-------	4.9%	8.2%	3.4%	4.9%	6.5%	3.7%	2.8%	5.8%	4.7%
Ontario	37.7%	56.9%	28.1%	19.7%	16.4%	9.6%	5.3%	5.8%	4.8%	3.6%	4.2%	2.4%	3.5%	2.0%
Quebec	53.7%	67.9%	13.8%	6.3%	11.7%	10.3%	6.7%	5.8%	3.6%	2.8%	5.1%	3.2%	5.4%	3.4%
Nova Scotia*	-------	-------	41.8%	53.4%	8.4%	7.0%	19.2%	21.4%	15.2%	7.6%	8.0%	5.8%	7.4%	4.8%
New Brunswick	-------	-------	-------	-------	56.3%	61.9%	17.4%	10.7%	6.5%	11.0%	7.0%	9.1%	12.9%	7.3%
Newfoundland	-------	-------	-------	39.6%	34.7%	-------	10.2%	23.3%	17.2%	13.6%	16.3%	15.2%	21.6%	8.3%
Prince Edward Island	-------	-------	-------	-------	-------	62.2%	90.6%	24.4%	-------	-------	-------	-------	9.4%	13.4%
Northwest Territories	-------	-------	-------	-------	-------	-------	-------	51.2%	-------	-------	32.4%	36.7%	67.6%	12.1%
Yukon Territory	-------	-------	-------	-------	-------	-------	-------	93.2%	-------	-------	69.9%	-------	30.1%	6.8%

SOURCE: Derived by CWF from 1966, 1971, 1996 Census

NOTE: Statistics Canada splits urban Canadians into the various categories depending on the size of the "urban core" in which they live, not the size of the legal incorporated centre. Thus, the City of Victoria, with a population of about 75,000 is in the 100,000-499,999 category as the city and its surrounding urban areas form an urban core in excess of 100,000. * indicates 1971 rates for populations under 30,000.

FIGURE 8: Canadians in Various-Sized Urban Centres (Continued)

	Percent Growth of the Urban Population in Various-Sized Urban Centres			Population Change in Various-Sized Urban Centres: Total Provincial Urban Growth, and Growth of Various-Sized Centres in Canada			
	"LARGE" 100,000-500,000	"MEDIUM" 10,000-99,999	"SMALL" 1,000-9,999	"LARGE" 100,000-500,000	"MEDIUM" 10,000-99,999	"SMALL" 1,000-9,999	TOTAL Urban Increase
Canada	+ 83.7%	+ 39.8%	– 0.1%	+ 6,534,872	+ 1,199,205	– 1,507	= 7,732,570
Canada Less West	+ 64.9%	+ 12.1%	– 9.3%	+ 4,487,478	+ 309,883	– 159,960	= 4,637,401
Western Canada	+ 83.7%	+ 195.0%	+ 25.2%	+ 2,047,394	+ 889,322	+ 158,453	= 3,095,169
Central Canada	+ 63.6%	+ 12.6%	– 7.7%	+ 4,282,082	+ 258,553	– 102,823	= 4,437,812
Atlantic Canada	+ 111.4%	+ 4.0%	– 14.5%	+ 205,396	+ 20,107	– 53,394	= 172,109
Northern Canada	----------	*	– 20.4%	----------	+ 31,223	– 3,743	= 27,480
British Columbia	+ 103.8%	+ 302.8%	+ 6.9%	+ 1,026,010	+ 605,631	+ 15,254	= 1,646,895
Alberta	+ 108.6%	+ 237.1%	+ 63.8%	+ 772,727	+ 237,886	+ 124,795	= 1,135,408
Saskatchewan	+ 51.4%	+ 30.9%	0.0%	+ 127,028	+ 31,835	– 12	= 158,851
Manitoba	+ 24.3%	+ 26.5%	+ 19.8%	+ 121,629	+ 13,970	+ 18,416	= 154,015
Ontario	+ 86.6%	+ 13.8%	+ 2.1%	+ 3,182,824	+ 167,595	+ 14,882	= 3,365,301
Quebec	+ 36.0%	+ 11.0%	– 18.3%	+ 1,099,258	+ 90,958	– 117,705	= 1,072,511
Nova Scotia**	+ 44.0%	+ 16.0%	– 32.4%	+ 81,221	+ 19,436	– 43,587	= 57,070
New Brunswick	----------	+ 13.8%	+ 20.1%	----------	+ 31,642	+ 16,554	= 48,196
Newfoundland	*	*	– 20.8%	+ 124,175	– 46,493	– 30,552	= 47,130
Prince Edward Island	----------	+ 43.1%	+ 111.6%	----------	+ 15,522	+ 4,191	= 19,713
Northwest Territories	----------	*	– 15.9%	----------	+ 14,027	+ 1,834	= 15,861
Yukon Territory	----------	*	– 81.7%	----------	+ 17,196	– 5,577	= 11,619

SOURCE: Derived by CWF from 1966, 1971, 1996 Census

NOTE: The * indicates a city jumping to a larger category that was empty in 1966, making it impossible to calculate a percentage increase. ** indicates 1971 data for populations under 30,000.

NOTE: For our first urbanization measure (Figure 4) this data was presented in two sections and used percentages rather than absolute numbers. Since some centres actually declined in population, using percentages is less meaningful on this measure.

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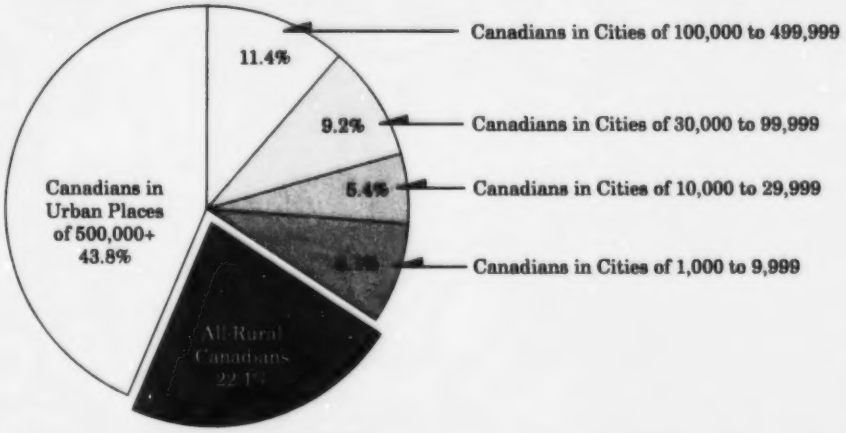
Urbanization RATES: Percentage of Canadians in Various-Sized Urban Centres

Figure 9 provides a look at the current urban and rural population by dividing Canadians into one of six categories based on the size of the centre in which they live. Clearly, Canada is dominated by large metropolitan nodes; almost 45% of ***all*** Canadians live in cities with an urban core in excess of 500,000 people, and another 11% live in centres of between 100,000 to 499,999. The remainder is spread almost equally between rural Canadians and those living in smaller urban centres from 1,000 to 99,999 people.

FIGURE 9: The Current Canadian Urban and Rural Population (1996)


Canadians in Cities of 100,000 to 499,999
11.4%
9.2%
Canadians in Cities of 30,000 to 99,999
5.4%
Canadians in Cities of 10,000 to 29,999
Canadians in Cities of 1,000 to 9,999
Canadians in Urban Places of 500,000+ 43.8%
All Rural Canadians

SOURCE: Derived by Canada West from Statistics Canada Census Reports, 1996

Because urbanization is a function of both size and population density, our broader measure of urbanization can be refined by conceptualizing urban Canadians as one of three types: 1) "highly" urbanized (those living in centres of 100,000 people or more); 2) "moderately" urbanized (those living in centres of 10,000 to 99,999); or 3) "marginally" urbanized (those living in centres of less than 10,000). Based on this classification scheme, we can argue that more than five out of ten Canadians are very highly urbanized and about 15% are moderately urban. Just less than one-third of Canadians live in rural areas or are only marginally urban, living in a wide variety of small cities, towns, and villages.

Figure 10 (page 23) provides a detailed comparison of Canada's ***urban*** population in 1966 and 1996. The data shows the percentage of regional and provincial urban Canadians living in centres of varying size. What emerges from the data is the degree to which large metropolitan centres have come to dominate the urban landscape. In 1966, 40% of all urban Canadians lived in large metros of over 500,000 people. In 1996, that increased to over 55%. Indeed, the number of urban Canadians living in centres of over 100,000 has increased from 64% in 1966 to 71% in 1996. The percentage of urban Canadians living in every other category of smaller centres under 100,000 has declined.

Urbanization RATES: Percentage of Canadians in Various-Sized Urban Centres

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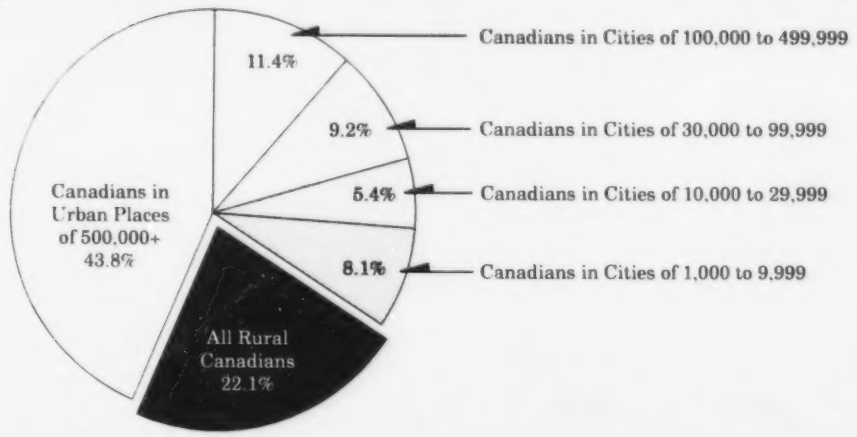
11.4%
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Canadians in Cities of 1,000 to 9,999
Canadians in Urban Places of 500,000+ 43.8%
All Rural Canadians 22.1%

SOURCE: Derived by Canada West from Statistics Canada Census Reports, 1996.

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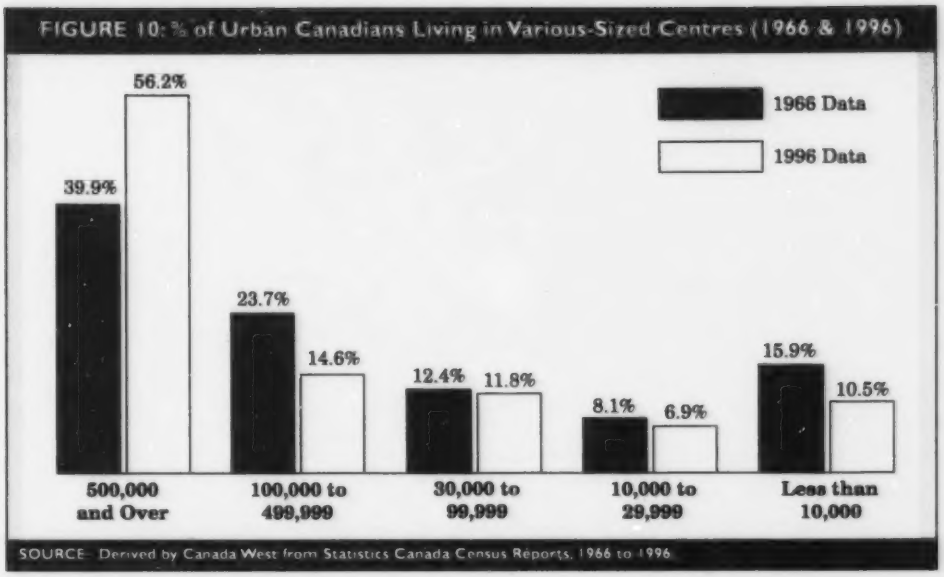
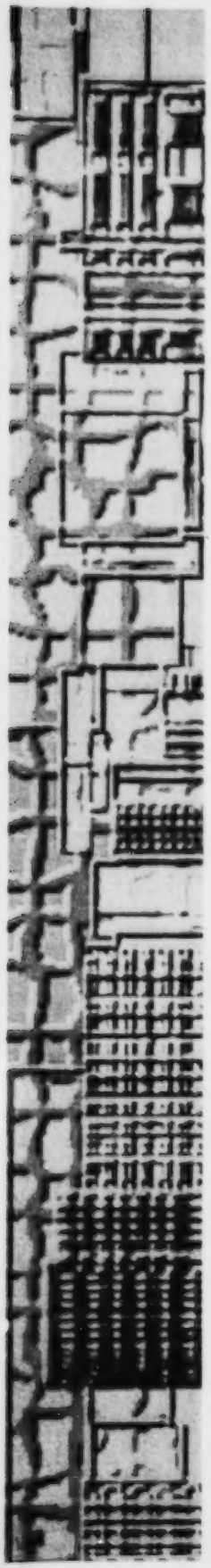


The data should not be interpreted to mean that only the large cities are growing. Rather, the data simply mean that growth in larger centres has overshadowed growth in smaller centres, and today they claim a much larger piece of the urban pie. It is also important to realize that the changes above can be sparked by a number of factors. More and more Canadians are indeed moving into the large centres, but as urbanization in general continues, large towns turn into small cities, small cities turn into medium-sized cities, and large cities become huge metros. For example, the 100,000 to 499,999 category has declined as a percentage of all urban Canadians, but these centres have surely grown since 1966. In fact, places like Calgary, Edmonton, and Hamilton have grown so much they have completely vacated the 100,000 to 499,999 category by moving up to the 500,000+ category, carrying literally millions of Canadians with them.

A detailed break-out for each of Canada's regions and provinces can be found in *Figure* 7 (page 20). A number of similarities and differences emerge from the data. First, it is only in the West and in Central Canada where one finds very large metros of more than 500,000 residents, and in both regions, it is these types of centres that have come to claim the largest share of the urban population. In the West, these centres represented 38% of all urban residents in 1966, but by 1996 had come to represent 56%. In Central Canada, these large metros went from 45% of all urban residents in 1966 to 61% today. Ontario and Quebec do emerge as more "highly" urbanized on this score than the West, but the pattern does remain one of general convergence. While Atlantic Canada has no cities over 500,000, the role of large metros in that region is shown by the increasing share of cities in the 100,000 to 499,999 range. In 1966, these types of centres represented 17% of the region's urban residents, but today claim almost one-third.



A second and equally important finding in the data is the uniqueness of the West when looking at medium-sized centres in the 30,000 to 99,999 range. In all regions (and most provinces) centres of this size have fallen as a proportion of urban residents, but this has not been the case in Western Canada. In every province in Western Canada, these smaller cities have come to claim a greatly increased share of the urban population. In 1966, these types of cities represented 2% of the entire regional population, and included only two centres – Lethbridge, Alberta and Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan. At the time, these two cities were just barely over the 30,000 mark. By 1996, the number of these smaller cities had increased greatly, and today lay claim to a much larger piece of the urban pie, representing 14% of all urban residents in the West. This trend is noticeable in all Western provinces, but its effects are particularly pronounced in British Columbia. In fact, populations in these centres have grown so much, the metro Vancouver area has actually ***fallen*** as a percentage of that province's total urban population (from 59% in 1966 to 53% in 1996). The province's smaller cities over 30,000 have come to claim an increasing share, moving from nothing in 1966 to representing almost one in every five urban British Columbians by 1996.

The data in *Figure 7* also include a break-out for all the small cities and towns under the 30,000 mark, including the full range of small urban centres under the 10,000 range. Atlantic Canada tends to be the outlier as its provinces have a much higher percentage of their urban population living in smaller towns and cities. Almost 45% of urban Atlantic Canadians live in centres under 30,000 people, compared to 17% for the country as a whole. Second, Canada's two most highly urbanized regions, Western and Central Canada, look very similar in terms of their smaller centres. About 14% of all urban Ontarioans and Quebecers live in small centres under 30,000 and this figure is only slightly higher at 19% for Western Canada. Third, in all regions of the country, small urban centres under 5,000 people are on the decline as a proportion of the country's urban population. The West is no exception in this regard. Thus, it makes little sense to talk about urbanization in the West or Canada as being primarily fuelled by little towns which today find themselves over the "magic" 1,000 mark. In other words, the real story of urbanization in Canada is found by focusing on developments in Canada's largest cities, home for the great majority of urban Canadians.

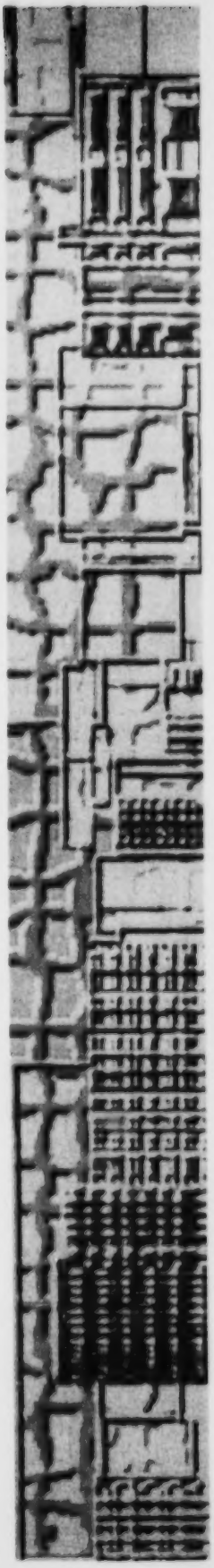
GROWTH in The Number of Canadians in Various-Sized Urban Centres

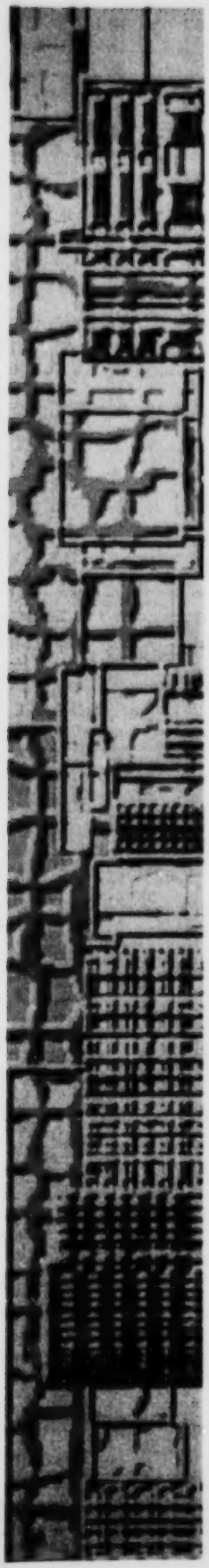
Focusing on *rates* (the percentage of the urban population living in a certain city size) provides a valuable insight into urbanization, but again it is only part of the story. It is helpful to expand our look by examining the changes in the number of Canadians living in various urban centres, and then arriving at a better sense of how each fits into the larger pattern of increased urbanization.

Figure 8 (page 21) provides a national overview, as well as regional and provincial break-outs, for the percentage increase or decrease in the number of Canadians living in large, medium, and small centres. Again, the dominance of Canada's largest urban centres comes into play. Across the country, growth in these large centres has outpaced growth in the medium centres by a ratio of about two to one, while the population in Canada's smaller centres under 10,000 has actually declined. The number of Canadians in large centres over 100,000 people has grown in all areas of the country, with Atlantic Canada showing the most increase, followed by the West, and then Central Canada. (The data should not be interpreted to imply that large centres in Atlantic Canada are growing *faster* than similar centres elsewhere; it is just that they now contain a great deal more people than before. In Atlantic Canada, the City of St. John's, Newfoundland bumped into the 100,000 category between 1966 and 1996, and this has greatly increased the number of residents in Atlantic Canada living in those large centres.)

Once again, the national results obscure important developments on the regional and provincial scene. Although all centres with populations under 500,000 have a lower *share* of Canada's total urban population, in some regions the population in these centres has shown significant *growth*. For example, the West is the only region in the country to show at least some modest growth in the number of residents living in small urban centres under 10,000. In Western Canada, these centres now contain 25% more people than they did in 1966, yet in all other regions of the country the number of Canadians in these smaller towns and cities has declined. The great bulk of this increase has occurred in centres in the 5,000 to 10,000 range, which grew by some 150,000 people. The number of individuals in the smaller centres from 1,000 to 5,000 has remained relatively constant. This trend is noticeable across each province in the West with the exception of Saskatchewan. Second, the West emerges as showing very strong growth in the number of citizens living in its medium-sized centres of between 10,000 and 99,999, clearly outpacing growth in these types of centres for the rest of the country. In fact, the population in these centres has grown at a rate almost double that of the West's larger centres.

While the growth of populations in different sized centres has not proceeded equally across regions, neither has it across provinces. In particular, British Columbia and Alberta stand out as having a somewhat unique urbanization process. First, the number of residents living in these two province's "large" centres has increased more than those in the rest of the country. In British Columbia, these centres now accommodate 104% more residents than they did in 1966, and in Alberta, 109%. Ontario comes in at a distant third at 87%. Second, both British Columbia and Alberta have also shown a





remarkable amount of growth in the number of citizens living in "medium" sized centres. The number has tripled for British Columbia (303%) and it has more than doubled in Alberta (237%). When speaking of urbanization in these two provinces, one must not understate the growing importance of a host of centres like Lethbridge, Medicine Hat, Red Deer, and Fort McMurray in the case of Alberta, and Abbotsford, Vernon, Kelowna, Kamloops, Prince George, Penticton, Chilliwack, White Rock, and Nanaimo in the case of British Columbia. Within the next 10 to 15 years, a number of these centres will likely emerge as the next "census metropolitan areas", having achieved a population in excess of 100,000 and becoming a larger player on the provincial, regional, and even national scene.

Growth in Various-Sized Centres as a PERCENT of All Urban Growth

The percentage increase or decrease in the number of Canadians living in various sizes of urban centres can be related to the overall growth in urban Canadians to arrive at a sense of how each centre has contributed to urbanization in a region or province. The relevant data to make this comparison is included in the second section of ***Figure 8*** (page 21) and shows the absolute change in the number of Canadians living in each type of urban centre, compared to the total increase in urban Canadians living in the various provinces, regions, and the country as a whole.

Reading across the data *horizontally,* one is struck by the overwhelming impact made by the increase in population of Canada's large urban centres. For Canada as a whole, the population of its large centres (100,000+) increased by 6.5 million since 1966, an amount equal to 85% of the total increase in Canada's urban population. Population growth in the medium centres (30,000 to 99,999) was about 1.2 million, or 15% of Canada's total population growth. As noted above, urban areas under 10,000 actually declined in the number of Canadians living there since 1966.

One particular difference between the regions and provinces is worth noting. First, in Central Canada, the population increase in the large centres is 96% of the region's total growth in urban residents, and in Atlantic Canada, it is fully 100% of the total increase in the urban population. Despite the impact of growth in Vancouver, Calgary, and Edmonton, this number is substantially lower in the West at 66%. This is where the full impact of growth in the West's medium-sized centres can be felt. Indeed, the increase in the number of residents living in these types of urban centres (about 900,000 since 1966) is almost 30% of the total increase in the West's urban population. The equivalent figure for Central Canada is 6%.

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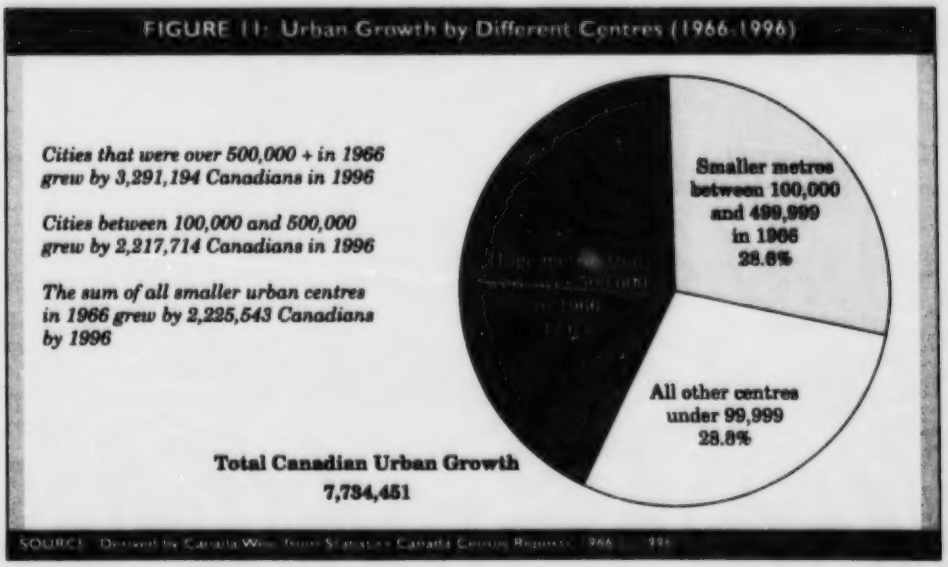
CONTRIBUTIONS To Urban Growth and Increases in Canada's Various Centres

Finally, the percentage increase in regional and provincial populations living in various urban centres can be related to the overall growth of those centres in Canada to arrive at a sense of how each province and region has contributed to urbanization in the country as a whole. The relevant data to make this comparison can also be found in the second section of *Figure 8* (page 21). Reading *vertically* down the columns provides a general sense of how developments in each size of urban centre in the various provinces and regions has contributed to overall growth of those centres across Canada. First, population growth in Canada's large centres is clearly dominated by Central Canada. Almost 65% of the total population growth in Canada's large urban centres has come from increases in Central Canada. About 31% of the country's growth in the large centres has come from centres in Western Canada, and about 3% from Atlantic Canada. This is hardly a surprising finding, since these proportions are not totally out of line with each region's share of the country's total population. However, Atlantic Canada's contribution is somewhat low since it comprises 8% of Canada's total population. Second, given the growth of Westerners now living in medium-sized centres, it is not at all surprising to find the increase in population of these centres being dominated by the West. Indeed, population growth in the medium-sized types of centres in Western Canada accounts for fully three-quarters of the total increase in these types of centres across the country. This compares to about 22% for Central Canada and about 2% in Atlantic Canada.

Up to this point, our discussion has focused only on the changes in the *number* of Canadians living in the different types of urban centres in 1966 and 1996. The results of this discussion have clearly shown that it is the larger centres which today lay claim to an increased number of urban residents. *Figure 11* provides a closing look at our second measure of urbanization by assessing the contribution made to urbanization in Canada by the various-sized *centres* themselves.

FIGURE 11: Urban Growth by Different Centres (1966-1996)


Cities that were over 500,000 + in 1966 grew by 3,291,194 Canadians in 1996
Cities between 100,000 and 500,000 grew by 2,217,714 Canadians in 1996
The sum of all smaller urban centres in 1966 grew by 2,225,543 Canadians by 1996
Smaller metros between 100,000 and 499,999 in 1966 28.8%
All other centres under 99,999 28.8%
Total Canadian Urban Growth
7,734,451

SOURCE: Derived by Canada West from Statistics Canada Census Reports, 1966 ... 1996

CONTRIBUTIONS To Urban Growth and Increases in Canada's Various Centres

Finally, the percentage increase in regional and provincial populations living in various urban centres can be related to the overall growth of those centres in Canada to arrive at a sense of how each province and region has contributed to urbanization in the country as a whole. The relevant data to make this comparison can also be found in the second section of *Figure 8* (page 21). Reading *vertically* down the columns provides a general sense of how developments in each size of urban centre in the various provinces and regions has contributed to overall growth of those centres across Canada. First, population growth in Canada's large centres is clearly dominated by Central Canada. Almost 65% of the total population growth in Canada's large urban centres has come from increases in Central Canada. About 31% of the country's growth in the large centres has come from centres in Western Canada, and about 3% from Atlantic Canada. This is hardly a surprising finding, since these proportions are not totally out of line with each region's share of the country's total population. However, Atlantic Canada's contribution is somewhat low since it comprises 8% of Canada's total population. Second, given the growth of Westerners now living in medium-sized centres, it is not at all surprising to find the increase in population of these centres being dominated by the West. Indeed, population growth in the medium-sized types of centres in Western Canada accounts for fully three-quarters of the total increase in these types of centres across the country. This compares to about 22% for Central Canada and about 2% in Atlantic Canada.

Up to this point, our discussion has focused only on the changes in the *number* of Canadians living in the different types of urban centres in 1966 and 1996. The results of this discussion have clearly shown that it is the larger centres which today lay claim to an increased number of urban residents. *Figure 11* provides a closing look at our second measure of urbanization by assessing the contribution made to urbanization in Canada by the various-sized *centres* themselves.

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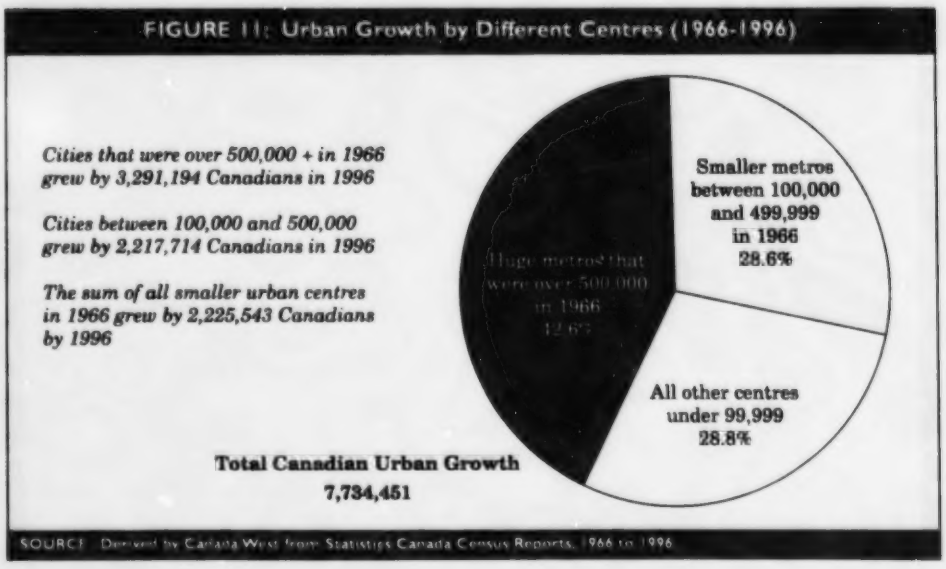
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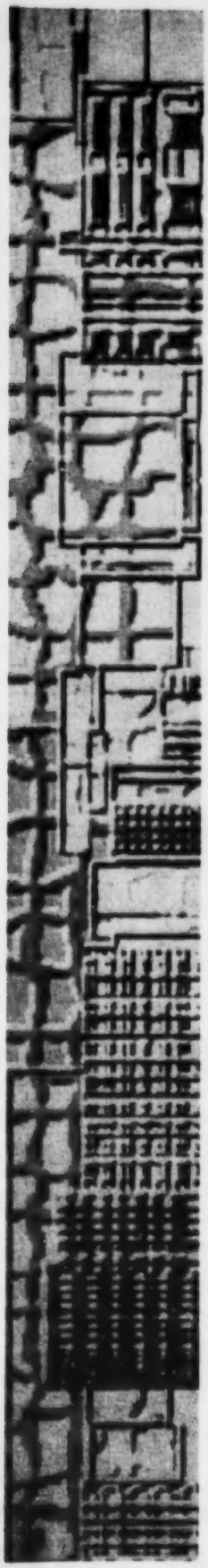


In the graphic, cities in 1966 were split into one of three categories – very large (over 500,000), large (100,000 to 499,999) and all others (99,999 or less). The graphic shows that it is Canada's largest metros – those over the 100,000 mark in 1966 – that have fuelled the increase in urban Canadians. Indeed, these types of centres account for fully 71% of all of Canada's urban growth over the last 30 years. The sum total of all smaller centres also grew, but together only contributed 29%.

Measure 2: Primary Conclusions

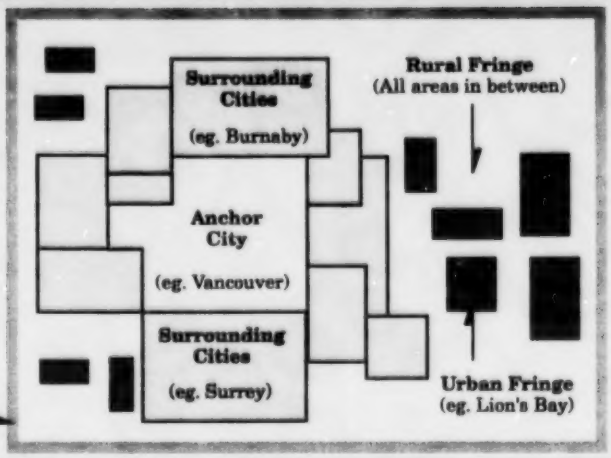
Our second measure of urbanization provides a valuable window to the ongoing developments on Canada's urban landscape. First, it is clear that large metropolitan nodes dominate this landscape, and growth in these large centres has fuelled much of the increased urbanization in Canada over the last quarter century. Second, a broad measure of urbanization (measure 1) estimates that about 80% of Canadians are urban, but when analyzed according to city size, it appears that only 55% are "highly" urbanized by virtue of living in a large urban area over 100,000 *(refer to Figure 9)*. About 20% of Canadians are "moderately" urban, and about one-third are only "marginally" urban or rural. Third, it is evident that the process of urbanization has not proceeded equally across Canada's regions or provinces. While large cities have grown in each of the provinces and regions, the West emerges as having a somewhat unique urbanization pattern – the large metros of British Columbia and Alberta have seen the greatest increases in their population, and both provinces, along with Saskatchewan and Manitoba, are the only ones to have witnessed significant growth in their medium-sized centres. In addition, it is only in the West where the number of people in smaller centres under 10,000 has actually increased. Neither of these trends is repeated in other regions of the country.

MEASURE 3: The Canadian CMAs

With so much of Canada's urban growth attributed to developments in large cities, these particular entities become the focus of our third measure of urbanization. For this measure, we explore the concept and developments within Canada's *Census Metropolitan Areas* – CMAs – which are statistical constructs measuring a city's reach and influence. Statistics Canada defines a census metropolitan area as a very large urban area, together with neighbouring urban and rural areas, that together share a high degree of economic and social integration with the large urban area. [7] In the West, these centres include the seven metro areas of Vancouver, Victoria, Edmonton, Calgary, Regina, Saskatoon, and Winnipeg. In Ontario, they include the ten centres of Hamilton, Kitchener-Waterloo, London, Oshawa, Ottawa-Hull, St. Catharines-Niagara, Sudbury, Toronto, Thunder Bay, and Windsor. Quebec CMAs include Chicoutimi-Jonquiere, Montreal, Quebec City, Sherbrooke, and Trois-Rivieres. Atlantic Canada has three CMAs – Halifax, Nova Scotia, St. John, New Brunswick, and St. John's Newfoundland.

FIGURE 12: The Concept of a Census Metropolitan Area

CMAs are statistical constructs, not legal incorporated entities. CMAs are comprised of three parts – an urban core (including an anchor city and all smaller cities which immediately surround the anchor city), an urban fringe (towns and villages somewhat disconnected from the urban core), and a rural fringe (areas between the urban core and urban fringe).



SOURCE: Produced by Canada West Foundation

To qualify as a CMA, a city must have an "urban core" (an anchor city and all other urban areas in the immediate vicinity) of at least 100,000 people. *Figure 12* provides a conceptual model for the Canadian CMA, using examples in the greater Vancouver area. Census Metropolitan Areas are important to our understanding of urbanization for two reasons. First, the concept of an "incorporated" centre does not always match up with urban reality. For example, the legally incorporated City of Vancouver itself only has a population of 514,008 as of the 1996 census, yet Vancouver is in the heart of a continuously built up urban core with a population in excess of 1.6 million residents. In other words, Vancouver is only one part (and a small part at that) of a much larger metropolitan centre that includes highly urbanized areas like Burnaby, Surrey, Richmond, Delta, North Vancouver, and West Vancouver among others. Simply talking about Vancouver alone would lead us to ignore millions of residents who live in highly dense urban areas surrounding Vancouver – people who are just as much residents of "Vancouver" as the real Vancouverites themselves.

Second, in addition to an urban core, a census metropolitan area includes an urban and a rural "fringe" – areas that are somewhat disconnected from the essential urban core but are included within the CMA boundaries because there is a high degree of economic and social integration between these areas and the larger urban centre. The fact is, a city's reach and influence extends well beyond its legal boundaries. People do not have to necessarily reside in a large city to be highly connected to it. People can be officially described as "rural" if they maintain a residence in a small town on the outskirts of Calgary or Toronto, but are they really rural if they spend fully 80% or even 90% of their waking time in a large city working, shopping, or enjoying the cultural amenities? As such, the CMA offers a way to measure urbanization by focusing on the large urban centres and the many people closely associated with them, whether or not they are broadly defined as "urban" or "rural."

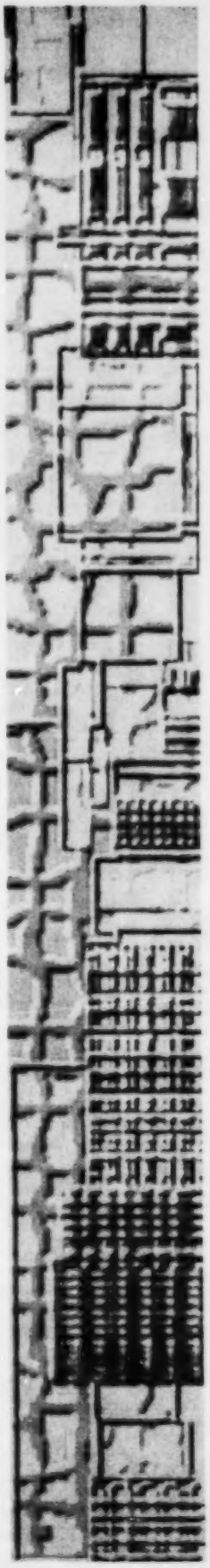


FIGURE 14: Data Set for Census Metropolitan Areas

	CMA Rates (Percentage of Population in CMAs)			Growth in Total Population, CMAs and Non-CMA		
	% of Population in CMAs 1966	% of Population in CMAs 1996	% Change in CMA Rate	% Growth in Total Population	% Growth in CMA Population	% Growth in Non-CMA Population
Canada	52.1%	61.9%	+ 18.8%	44.1%	71.2%	14.6%
Canada Less West	53.4%	63.8%	+ 19.5%	37.7%	64.5%	7.0%
Western Canada	48.6%	57.5%	+ 18.3%	62.2%	91.9%	34.2%
Central Canada	58.7%	68.9%	+ 17.3%	40.4%	64.8%	5.7%
Atlantic Canada	20.3%	27.1%	+ 33.5%	18.2%	57.9%	8.1%
Northern Canada	-------	-------	----------	120.7%	-------	-------
British Columbia	56.9%	57.3%	+ 0.7%	98.8%	100.4%	96.6%
Alberta	50.0%	62.5%	+ 25.0%	84.3%	130.1%	38.5%
Saskatchewan	25.9%	41.7%	+ 61.0%	3.7%	67.1%	- 18.5%
Manitoba	52.8%	59.9%	+ 13.4%	15.7%	31.1%	- 1.7%
Ontario	60.5%	71.0%	+ 17.4%	54.5%	81.3%	13.4%
Quebec	56.5%	65.7%	+ 16.3%	23.5%	43.6%	- 2.7%
Nova Scotia	26.2%	36.6%	+ 39.7%	20.3%	67.8%	3.4%
New Brunswick	16.4%	17.0%	+ 3.7%	19.7%	24.2%	18.8%
Newfoundland	20.5%	31.5%	+ 53.7%	11.8%	72.1%	- 3.7%
Prince Edward Island	-------	-------	----------	24.0%	-------	-------
Northwest Territories	-------	-------	----------	124.1%	-------	-------
Yukon Territory	-------	-------	----------	113.9%	-------	-------

SOURCE: Derived by CWF from 1966 , 1971, 1996 Census

NOTE: Data are presented according the the official boundaries employed by Statistics Canada at the time of that particular census. This may affect comparability by inflating growth for some CMAs. CMA population includes all centres that were CMAs as of the 1996 census. The cities of Chicoutimi, Oshawa, St. Catharines, Sherbrooke, Thunder Bay, and Trois Rivieres were not CMAs in 1966, but were Census Agglomerations. They have been included in the 1966 CMA population for comparison.

FIGURE 15: Data Set For Census Metropolitan Areas (Continued)

	CMA and Non-CMA Growth as a Percent of Growth in The Total Population			Provincial and Regional Contributions to Total CMA and Non-CMA Growth in Canada			
	Increase in Total Population	CMA Growth as a % of Total Growth	Non-CMA as a % of Total Growth	% of Total CMA Pop 1966	% of Total CMA Pop 1996	% Share of Total CMA Growth	% Share of Total Non-CMA Growth
Canada	8,831,881	84.1%	15.9%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Canada Less West	5,561,707	914%	8.6%	75.6%	72.7%	68.4%	34.2%
Western Canada	3,270,174	71.8%	28.2%	24.5%	27.4%	31.6%	65.8%
Central Canada	5,150,653	94.2%	5.8%	71.7%	69.1%	65.3%	21.4%
Atlantic Canada	359,048	64.5%	35.5%	3.9%	3.6%	3.1%	9.1%
Northern Canada	52,048	-------	-------	-------	-------	-------	-------
British Columbia	1,850,826	57.8%	42.2%	10.2%	12.0%	14.4%	48.1%
Alberta	1,233,623	77.2%	22.8%	7.0%	9.4%	12.8%	17.3%
Saskatchewan	34,893	100.0%	0.0%	2.4%	2.3%	2.2%	0.0%
Manitoba	150,832	100.0%	0.0%	4.9%	3.7%	2.1%	0.0%
Ontario	3,792,703	90.3%	9.7%	40.4%	42.8%	46.1%	22.7%
Quebec	1,357,950	100.0%	0.0%	31.3%	26.3%	19.2%	0.0%
Nova Scotia	153,243	87.7%	12.3%	1.9%	1.9%	1.8%	1.2%
New Brunswick	121,345	20.2%	79.8%	1.0%	0.7%	0.3%	6.0%
Newfoundland	58,396	100.0%	0.0%	1.0%	1.0%	1.0%	0.0%
Prince Edward Island	26,022	-------	-------	-------	-------	-------	1.6%
Northwest Territories	35,664	-------	-------	-------	-------	-------	2.2%
Yukon Territory	16,384	-------	-------	-------	-------	-------	1.0%

SOURCE: Derived by CWF from 1966 and 1996 Census Reports

NOTE: Data are presented according the the official boundaries employed by Statistics Canada at the time of that particular census. This may affect comparability by inflating growth for some CMAs. CMA population includes all centres that were CMAs as of the 1996 census. The cities of Chicoutimi, Oshawa, St. Catharines, Sherbrooke, Thunder Bay, and Trois Rivieres were not CMAs in 1966, but were Census Agglomerations. They have been included in the 1966 CMA population for comparison.

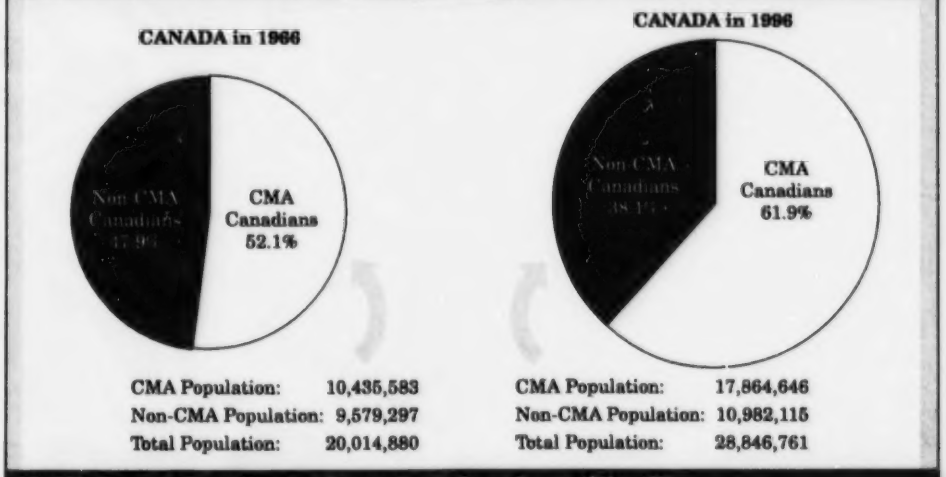
The Data

Data for this section *(Figures 14 and 15 on pages 30 and 31)* were collected from Census reports in 1966, 1971, and 1996. Several caveats should be made with respect to this data. First, the assessment of the growth of Canadian CMAs was based on the CMA boundaries that were in existence at the time of the particular census. (The sole exceptions were St. Catharines-Niagara, Thunder Bay, and Chicoutimi-Jonquiere. For these CMAs, the 1966 population used was the one based on the 1971 boundaries to improve comparability with later years). Since each CMA's boundaries has expanded since 1966 to include more of the outlying areas, it is clear we are not measuring the same entities over time. This has the effect of inflating our growth figures. At the same time, it should be realized that as a city grows, its reach logically extends outward. As such, the expanded boundaries and inflated growth figures are less problematic than at first glance, as they reflect the results of an increasing population and a growing impact on the surrounding area. Second, the data uses as a base the 25 current CMAs as of the 1996 census. Thus, the CMAs of Oshawa, St. Catharines-Niagara, Thunder Bay, Chicoutimi-Jonquiere, Sherbrooke, and Trois-Rivieres are all included in our 1966 CMA data, despite the fact they were not official CMAs at the time. Including these entities in the 1966 figures allows us to examine the impact on urbanization made by all current 25 CMAs. In addition, these centres also had "urban cores" that were quite comparable to some of the smaller CMAs of 1966 (eg. St. John's, Newfoundland and St. John, New Brunswick). As such, there is no logical reason to exclude them from the 1966 data.

RATES: The Percentage of Canadians in Census Metropolitan Areas

Figure 13 provides a national overview of the proportion of Canadians living in census metropolitan areas as of the 1966 and the 1996 census. The data show that CMAs have gone from 52% of Canada's total population to 62% in 1996, an increase of 20% in their share of the total Canadian

FIGURE 13: Canadians Living in CMAs (1966 and 1996)

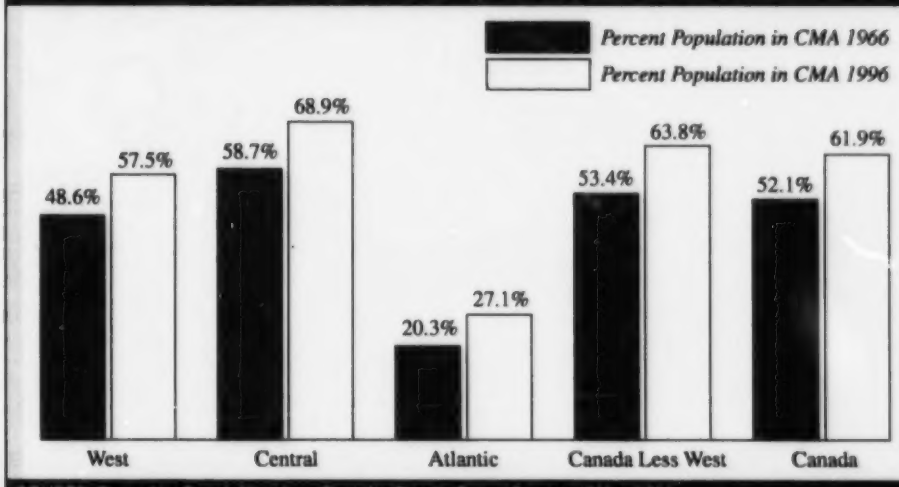


SOURCE: Derived by Canada West from Statistics Canada Census Reports, 1966 to 1996

population. On the one hand, this finding is not particularly surprising since our second measure of urbanization clearly showed that large urban centres were claiming a much larger share of urban Canadians. However, focusing on CMAs allows us to refine our measure of urbanization even more. If "highly" urbanized Canadians are defined as those individuals living in a census metropolitan area – whether they are strictly "urban" or "rural" according to the broader definition – then we can logically argue that about two-thirds of Canadians are "highly" urban by virtue of living in, or very close to, a large urban centre in which they socially and economically interact.

Figure 16 provides a regional break-out of Canada's CMA rates for 1966 and 1996, and shows that CMAs have increased as a proportion of all regional populations in the country. Central Canada remains the region with the highest proportion of its citizens in CMAs at almost 70%, followed by the West at 58% and Atlantic Canada at 27%.

FIGURE 16: CMA Rates by Region (1966 and 1996)



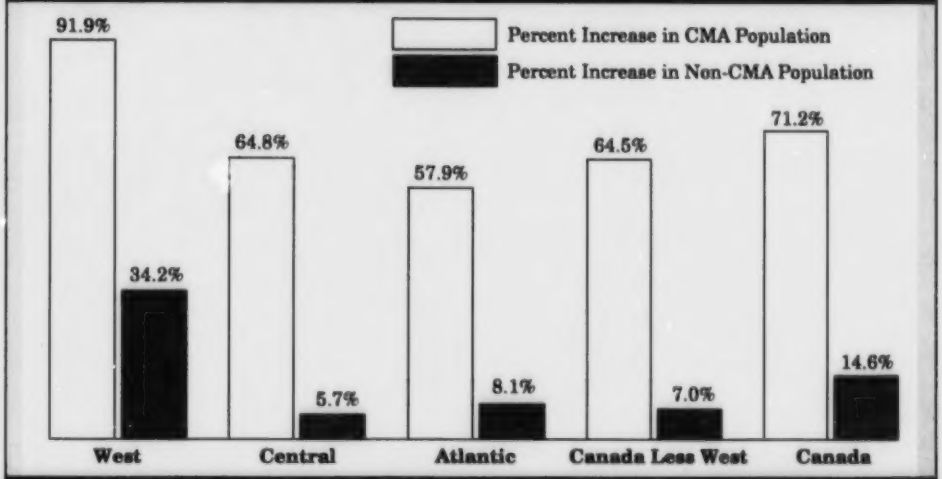
SOURCE: Derived by Canada West from Statistics Canada Census Reports, 1966 to 1996

More detailed data for the provinces can be found in *Figure 14* (page 31). The data show that in all provinces across the country, CMAs have increased as a proportion of the provincial population. Interestingly, the largest CMA rate increase can be found in Saskatchewan, followed by Newfoundland, and Nova Scotia. These data challenge our current perceptions about urban growth in Canada when we realize that small centres like Regina and Saskatoon, St. John's, Newfoundland, and Halifax have increased as a share of their provincial population more than places like Vancouver and Victoria, which have shown only a very small increase (0.7%) in their provincial population share. Increases in Manitoba, Ontario, and Quebec are modest at about 15%, and the twin cities of Alberta emerge in the middle, growing by 25% as a proportion of that province's population.

GROWTH of CMA and Non-CMA Populations

Figure 17 supplements our data on CMA rates by providing a national and regional overview of how census metropolitan area populations in the country have grown over the last 30 years compared to populations outside of CMAs. Clearly, the great majority of growth in the country is taking place in and around Canada's largest metros.

FIGURE 17:-Growth of CMA Populations By Region (1966 and 1996)



SOURCE: Derived by Canada West from Statistics Canada Census Reports, 1966 to 1996

In the country as a whole, growth in the CMA population has outpaced growth in non-CMA populations by a ratio of five to one. The data also illustrate that the experience of the West is somewhat unique from that of the rest of the country in that the region has seen the greatest growth in its CMA population (92%) since 1966. In addition, the region also shows stronger growth outside of its metropolitan areas, again reflecting the emergence of medium and small sized cities not closely attached to a major urban node. The provincial data *(Figure 14)* demonstrate much the same pattern, although British Columbia and Alberta together show much stronger growth outside CMAs with the rise of regional centres in those two provinces. While these data clearly reinforce our conclusion that large metros are dominating the urban landscape, we can take the conclusion one step further: growth in Canada's largest cities has been so robust over the last 30 years that they not only dominate developments on the urban scene, they overshadow the growth of the country's entire population.

Growth of CMAs as PERCENT of All Urban Growth

Like all our other measures, CMA population growth can be related to urban growth in general by expressing it as a simple percentage of the total increase in the urban population *(see Figure 15, page 32)*. In the country as whole, our data indicates that 84% of all of Canada's urban growth can be directly attributed to increases in populations in the country's census metropolitan areas. CMAs in

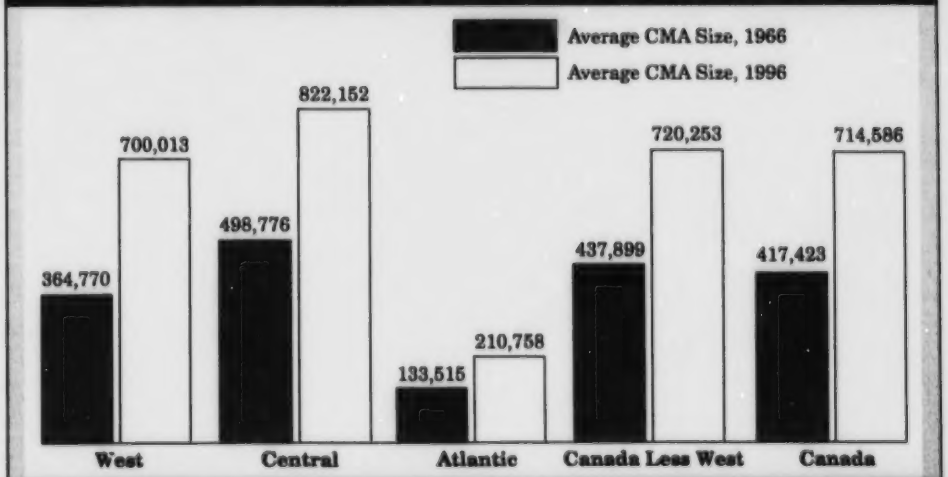
Central Canada emerge as having the greatest impact, representing almost 95% of all urban growth in Ontario and Quebec. The West comes in second at 72%, followed by Atlantic Canada at 65%. Provincial rates vary quite widely. In several provinces, increases in CMA populations represent fully 100% of a province's total population growth, meaning that the sum growth of all other urban centres and rural areas outside of a province's CMA have shown a net decline. This is the case for both Saskatchewan and Manitoba, as well as Newfoundland.

CONTRIBUTIONS to Total CMA Growth in Canada

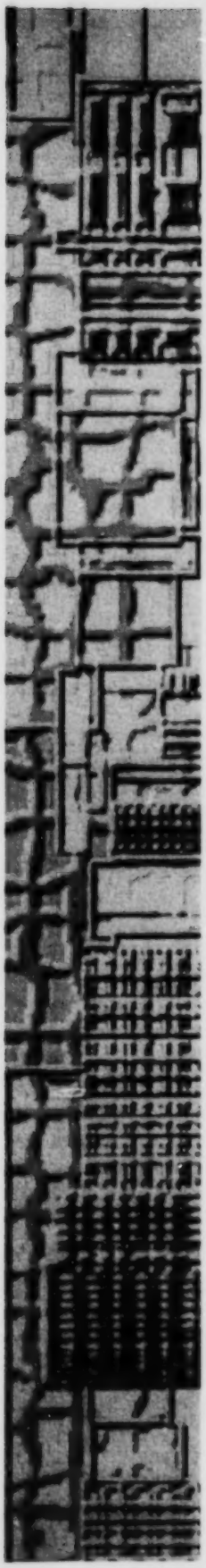
Growth in provincial and regional census metropolitan populations can also be expressed as a share of the total increase in CMA population in Canada. This helps us get a handle on each province or region's contributions to Canada's total growth in these large metro areas. The relevant data can be found in the second part of *Figure 15*. What emerges from the data is the fact that only one region has contributed more to Canada's total CMA growth than its CMA population would mathematically warrant – Western Canada. In 1966, the West's CMA population represented about 25% of the national total, yet the West has contributed 32% to Canada's overall CMA growth. While British Columbia and Alberta contributed more than their CMA populations would indicate, Saskatchewan and Manitoba have also kept pace. Both of these two provinces have contributed their fair share to Canada's CMA increases based on their proportion of the total CMA population.

The implications of this finding are expressed in *Figure 18*, which shows the average populations of all CMAs by region in Canada for 1966 and 1996. The average size of CMAs in the West has advanced greatly over the last 30 years, and while Central Canada's metros remain larger than the ones in the West, the gap ... s clearly narrowed. In 1966, the average CMA in Ontario was 38% larger than the average in

FIGURE 18: Average Size of CMAs by Region (1966 and 1996)



SOURCE: Derived by Canada West from Statistics Canada Census Reports, 1966 to 1996



Western Canada. Today, CMAs in Ontario and Quebec are only 17% larger than those in the West. This is important to note given the way in which perceptions of Toronto and Montreal (and to a lesser extent Ottawa and Quebec City) dominate our thinking of the urban landscape in the central Canadian provinces, and the way in which small-town stereotypes are often held about Western Canada. To be sure, these are only averages; Toronto is still a much larger, and arguably more urban centre than Saskatoon. But at the same time, "big city" life is today just as much a characteristic of the West than it is of the country as a whole, even if the biggest of the big in the West fail to rival Toronto or Montreal in size alone.

Measure 3: Primary Conclusions

Our brief look at census metropolitan areas rounds out our urbanization measures by showing how the country's large metros now dominate the urban landscape. Together, Canada's CMAs now comprise 62% of the entire national population. Since 1966, for every one new Canadian in a non-CMA area, five new Canadians landed in one of the country's highly urbanized CMAs. Indeed, almost 85% of all of Canada's urban growth over the last 30 years can be directly attributed to these large urban entities. The West has been no stranger to this phenomenon. Populations in Western census metropolitan areas have shown the strongest growth in the country, and have contributed to almost one-third of all the increase in urbanization using this measure.

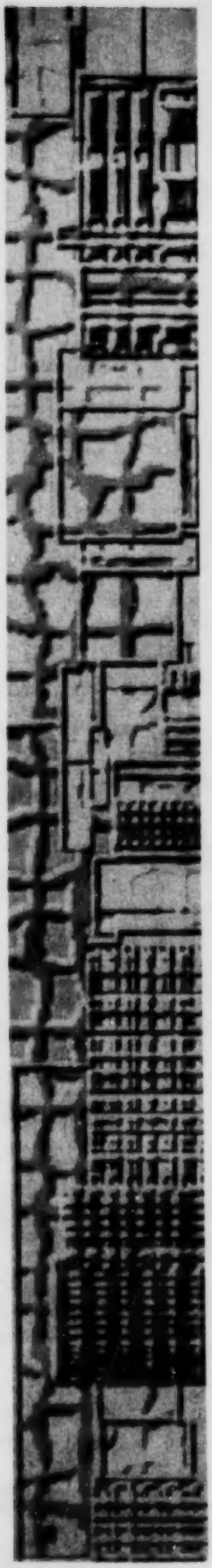
WRAPPING UP: URBANIZATION IN CANADA

Urbanization is a complex phenomenon. It is difficult to quantify, and sometimes difficult to express. But in the Canadian context, it is clear by a number of measures that the great majority of the Canadians live in an urban setting. Almost 80% of us live in cities, towns, and villages with more than 1,000 residents. Over half of all Canadians are "highly" urban in that they live in a large urban area. Another one-fifth are "moderately" urban in that they live in a medium-sized urban centre. If we ignore the broad "urban" and "rural" split completely by turning our focus on the number of Canadians living within the large census metropolitan areas, then almost two-thirds of us would qualify as "highly" urban.

Our look at urbanization has provided a valuable insight into developments across Canada, and particularly developments within the urban West. A number of key conclusions emerge. First, it is amply evident that the patterns of increasing urbanization do differ across the country. The West has grown considerably more urban than it was 30 years ago, and has arguably outpaced urban growth in other areas of the country. In addition, growth of the major Western metros has had no small impact on the national scene. The rise of several medium-sized centres across British Columbia and Alberta also presents the prospect of more Western cities emerging onto the national stage in the next five to ten years.

Second, our look at urbanization has served to validate some popular perceptions about cities in Canada, but also to quash others. For example, it is the Vancouvers, Calgarys, and Edmontons which typically capture our imagination of the urban West. While these cities have clearly grown and are now making their presence felt within Canada, the story of urbanization in the West does not end at Calgary's or Vancouver's doorstep. For example, Winnipeg has emerged as a very unique city in Canada. In no other province can one find a city which exerts such dominance over the provincial landscape. Indeed, 60% of Manitoba's population now lives within the Winnipeg CMA. As such, developments in that city have effects which ripple throughout the province. Another example comes from Saskatchewan. In that province, the two cities of Saskatoon and Regina have moved from representing only 25% of all the province's residents thirty years ago to representing over 40% today. No other city in the country comes close to Saskatoon and Regina in terms of a growing impact on the provincial scene.

Third, because of the growing number of urban Canadians and the developments on the Western and national urban landscape, municipal governance can no longer be viewed as something of marginal interest or concern to scholars, business leaders, public policy makers, or Canadians. To do so would be to deny the modern reality of our urban lives. The simple fact is a great majority of Canadians are living their lives in a major metropolitan centre. Large cities are today's home for most Canadians, and it is just as much a home as Canada or its provinces. As we will soon see, each city in Canada faces a number of unique demographic, economic, and social challenges which impact upon the enjoyment of our increasingly urban lives. Meeting these challenges and turning them into opportunities to build better cities for Canadians is what governance in the local context is all about. It is to that subject that we turn our attention.



CHAPTER THREE:
PROFILING CANADA'S CITIES

CONSIDERING GROWTH IN CMAs

The previous section provided an in-depth look at urbanization across Canada. However, the urbanization data alone cannot inform us as to the changes within cities themselves. What is the impact of increased urbanization upon Canadian cities? In this section, we will explore urbanization in the context of Canada's 25 Census Metropolitan Areas.

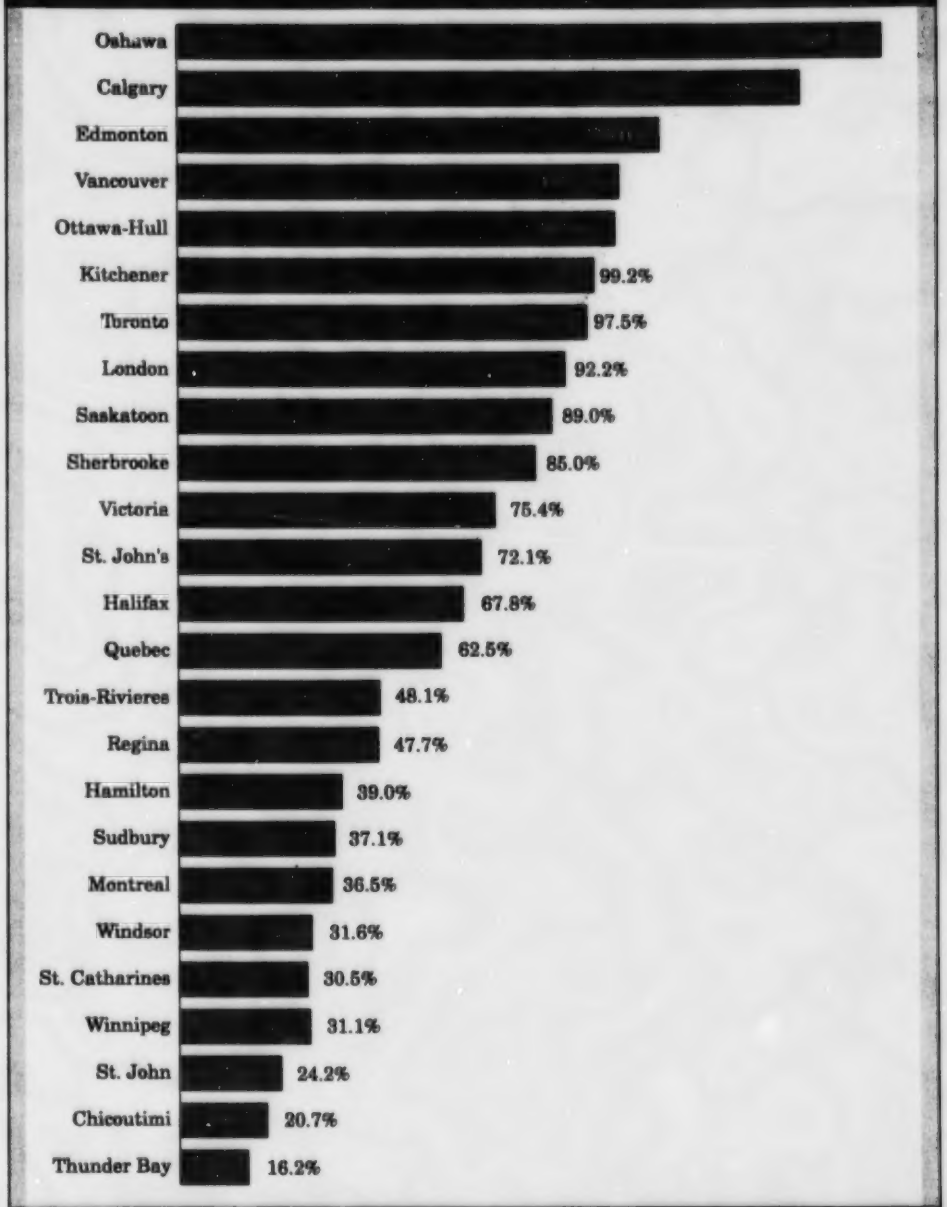
Because CMAs are a mix of urban core, urban fringe and rural fringe, each CMA will vary in "urbanity." Some CMAs have very large urban cores, while others have large urban fringes. Thus, when considering CMAs and urbanization, two questions must be considered. First, what are the growth rates of Canada's CMAs? As we saw in the previous section, provinces vary greatly in their rates of urbanization. This will in turn translate into varying growth rates for CMAs. Second, within CMAs, how is growth distributed between the urban core, urban fringe and rural fringe? In other words, how much of a CMA's growth can be attributed to growth of the urban core, and how much of a CMA's growth is actually rural growth?

It should be noted that the CMA data for 1966 and 1996 are based upon Statistics Canada boundary definitions in use at the time. As a city grows and expands its reach, its borders expand and surrounding parts are attached to its urban core. One limitation of these data is that there is a risk of overstating growth. This is most apparent when looking at the growth rates of Oshawa. In 1966, the Oshawa CMA did not include the city of Clarington; by 1996, Clarington had been added to the Oshawa CMA. This results in a dramatic "on-paper" growth rate of 168%. However, on closer examination it is seen that the city of Oshawa itself did not see such a dramatic increase. (The growth rate of the city of Oshawa was actually 72%). Clearly, growth rates must be interpreted with an eye to redefinitions of the CMA areas and urban amalgamations.

Growth Rate

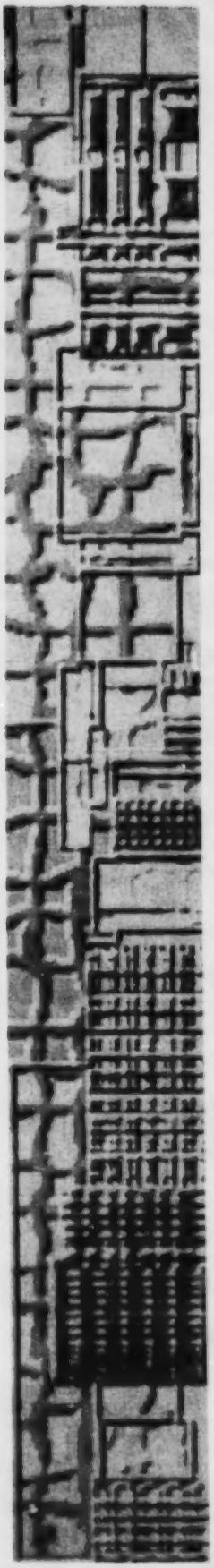
There are regional variations in the growth rate of CMAs, with Western CMAs growing at a faster rate than those in other regions *(Figure 19)*. Looking at the average CMA growth rates within regions and Canada as a whole, it is clear that the West is leading national CMA growth, with Ontario experiencing more modest growth rates. Both Quebec and Atlantic CMAs fall below the national growth rate levels. Looking at CMAs individually, it is striking that three of the five highest growth rates are being experienced by Western CMAs. When we take into account the overstatement of Oshawa growth (discussed above), the importance of Western CMAs to national growth is clarified. In terms of "real" growth rates, three Western cities – Calgary, Edmonton and Vancouver – are strong national leaders.

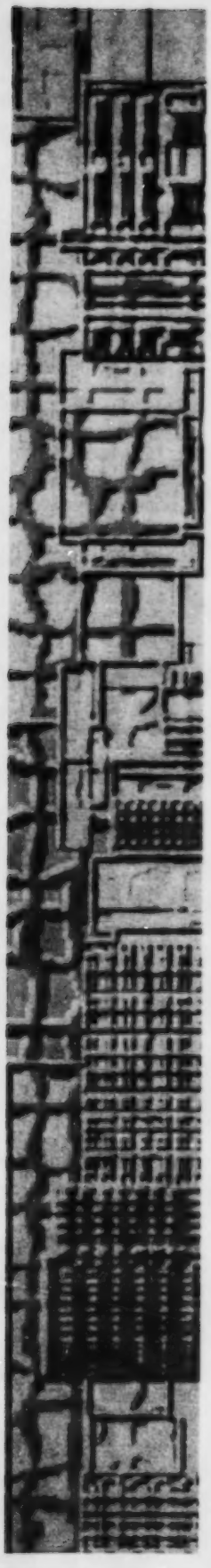
FIGURE 19: Growth Rates of Canadian CMAs (1966-1996)



SOURCE: Derived by Canada West from Statistics Canada Census Reports, 1966 to 1996

Rapid growth of a census metropolitan area presents both challenges and opportunities. The challenges are seen in increased pressures on various urban services and infrastructure (police, fire, waste disposal, etc.), housing markets, transportation corridors, public transit, and social services. Urban growth can also result in problems surrounding housing affordability, infrastructure financing and environmental issues. At the same time, however, rapid growth does bring economic benefits and social opportunities, including economic expansion, increased cultural diversity and a growing tax base.





Forms of CMA Growth

As noted earlier, CMAs differ in their urban-rural make-up. Since 1966, CMAs across Canada have experienced an increase in the proportion of their population that is rural *(Figure 20)*. In other words, Canada's CMAs are becoming more rural. In 1966, nearly 4% of all CMA residents lived in rural areas; by 1996, this figure had jumped to almost 7%. The increasing rural population is particularly striking in the Atlantic CMAs, in which almost 20% of the CMA population reside in rural areas. It is interesting to note that the British Columbia CMAs are the least rural (4%), while all other non-Atlantic CMAs fall within a consistent 6%-7% range.

FIGURE 20: Urban Rural Nature of CMAs (1966 and 1996)

	1966 CMAs		1996 CMAs	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
British Columbia	92.3%	7.7%	95.9%	4.1%
Alberta	97.4%	2.6%	93.0%	7.0%
Saskatchewan	99.5%	0.5%	93.5%	6.5%
Manitoba	98.3%	1.7%	93.4%	6.6%
Western Canada	95.6%	4.4%	94.4%	5.6%
Ontario	96.0%	4.0%	93.7%	6.3%
Quebec	98.4%	1.6%	93.9%	6.1%
Central Canada	97.0%	3.0%	93.8%	6.2%
Nova Scotia	91.3%	8.7%	81.2%	18.8%
New Brunswick	93.1%	6.9%	73.2%	26.8%
Newfoundland	78.5%	21.5%	86.3%	13.7%
Prince Edward Island	--	--	--	--
Atlantic Canada	88.2	11.8%	81.0%	19.0%
Canada Less West	96.6%	3.4%	93.2%	6.8%
All of Canada	96.4%	3.6%	93.5%	6.5%

SOURCE: Derived by Canada West from Statistics Canada Census Reports, 1966 to 1996

The increased size of rural populations is due to both changing CMA boundaries between 1966 and 1996 and population growth in rural areas within CMAs. Stated differently, a larger number of rural areas are being counted as part of CMAs, and an increased number of individuals are residing in the rural portion of CMAs. Indeed, increases have been more dramatic among rural CMA populations than among urban CMA populations *(Figure 21)*. Since 1966, the number of rural CMA residents has increased by 190%, while the number of urban CMA residents increased by only 58%. The increased number of rural CMA residents in Saskatchewan – almost 2000% - is phenomenal. Only Newfoundland's CMA (St. John's) registered a decrease in rural CMA population, while the British Columbia CMAs had an increase that was dramatically below the national average.

FIGURE 21: Urban-Rural Growth in CMAs (1966 and 1996)

	Percent Increase in Number of URBAN CMA Residents	Percent Increase in Number of RURAL CMA Residents
British Columbia	+ 100.3%	+ 2.1%
Alberta	+ 112.7%	+ 503.1%
Saskatchewan	+ 56.2%	+ 1965.7%
Manitoba	+ 24.6%	+ 406.1%
Western Canada	+ 84.5%	+ 140.5%
Ontario	+ 66.9%	+ 168.3%
Quebec	+ 30.1%	+ 412.0%
Central Canada	+ 50.7%	+ 225.8%
Nova Scotia	+ 40.9%	+ 242.0%
New Brunswick	- 5.1%	+ 365.8%
Newfoundland	+ 62.8%	- 5.5%
Prince Edward Island	--	--
Atlantic Canada	+ 34.4%	+ 136.4%
Canada Less West	+ 49.9%	+ 209.8%
All of Canada	+ 58.1%	+ 189.8%

SOURCE: Derived by Canada West from Statistics Canada Census Reports, 1966 to 1996

Looking at the cities individually *(Figure 22)*, some general patterns emerge. First, "anchor" cities represent a decreasing proportion of a CMA's population. Among the 25 CMAs, there are only four exceptions to this pattern: Winnipeg, London, St. Catharines and Chicoutimi. However, the Winnipeg data is inflated due to the amalgamation of Winnipeg and its surrounding centres in 1971. Thus, the changing composition of Winnipeg cannot be interpreted. It should also be noted that the "weight" of anchor cities varies considerably, from a high of 91% of the Thunder Bay CMA living within Thunder Bay itself, to a low of only 15% of the Toronto CMA living with Toronto. (The 1996 Toronto data do not reflect current distributions due to the recent amalgamation of Toronto).

Second, the surrounding cities claim an increased proportion of the population in the vast majority of CMAs. Only seven CMAs did not experience this pattern; of these, three do not have surrounding cities (Calgary, Saskatoon, Regina), and four experienced a declining population weighting of surrounding cities (Winnipeg, London, Thunder Bay and Chicoutimi). Again, the Winnipeg change reflects the 1971 amalgamation rather than true population shifts. In 1996, Toronto had the greatest proportion of its population living in surrounding cities (77%), followed by Victoria (68%).

A third pattern is seen with respect to the urban fringe. In the west, the proportion of population living in the urban fringes increased for most CMAs. (Exceptions are Victoria and the amalgamated

FIGURE 22: Components of Canadian CMA (1966 to 1996)

	URBAN CORE				URBAN and RURAL FRINGE			
	Anchor City		Surrounding Cities		Urban Fringe		Rural Fringe	
	1966	1996	1966	1996	1966	1996	1966	1996
Vancouver	44.0%	28.1%	44.3%	60.3%	4.5%	8.0%	7.2%	3.6%
Victoria	32.8%	24.2%	53.6%	67.6%	3.5%	1.6%	10.2%	6.7%
Edmonton	89.8%	71.4%	2.1%	11.6%	3.5%	6.6%	4.6%	10.4%
Calgary	100.0%	93.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	3.1%	0.0%	3.4%
Saskatoon	100.0%	88.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	4.1%	0.0%	7.5%
Regina	99.0%	93.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.5%	1.0%	5.3%
Winnipeg	50.5%	92.7%	47.5%	0.5%	0.3%	0.2%	1.7%	6.6%
Hamilton	65.2%	51.6%	20.5%	40.8%	7.1%	0.3%	7.2%	7.3%
Kitchener	49.1%	46.6%	16.7%	46.8%	27.9%	3.1%	6.2%	3.5%
London	76.6%	81.7%	0.0%	0.2%	11.7%	9.3%	11.7%	9.2%
Oshawa	73.3%	50.0%	19.1%	30.0%	4.5%	11.6%	3.0%	8.4%
Ottawa-Hull	66.5%	38.2%	24.8%	39.8%	3.5%	10.6%	5.2%	11.4%
St. Catharines	34.8%	35.2%	4.4%	44.9%	60.9%	9.1%	0.0%	10.8%
Sudbury	62.1%	57.4%	2.6%	12.1%	22.2%	19.5%	13.2%	11.0%
Thunder Bay	96.8%	90.5%	0.0%	4.4%	0.0%	0.0%	3.2%	13.9%
Toronto	30.5%	15.3%	60.1%	76.6%	7.8%	3.9%	1.7%	4.1%
Windsor	80.8%	70.9%	4.7%	15.6%	5.1%	2.4%	9.4%	11.0%
Chicoutimi	24.5%	39.3%	57.6%	30.6%	11.6%	11.6%	6.3%	18.5%
Montreal	50.3%	30.6%	42.8%	59.6%	5.8%	6.2%	1.0%	3.6%
Quebec	43.1%	24.9%	43.9%	65.8%	10.4%	2.0%	2.6%	7.3%
Sherbrooke	95.0%	52.1%	5.0%	28.8%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	19.1%
Trois-Rivieres	60.3%	34.6%	36.4%	50.7%	2.3%	1.7%	1.0%	13.0%
Halifax	57.6%	34.3%	30.3%	45.6%	3.5%	1.3%	8.7%	18.8%
St. John	86.3%	57.7%	1.3%	12.6%	5.4%	2.9%	6.9%	26.8%
St. John's	68.1%	58.6%	6.7%	12.8%	3.7%	14.9%	21.5%	13.7%

SOURCE: Derived by CWF from 1966 & 1996 Census Reports

NOTE: The figures used for 1966 were the adjusted 1966 census counts based on the CMA boundaries in use as of the 1971 census. The 1971 census provided a more complete look at the four components of CMA populations. This has not substantially changed the results.

Winnipeg). In the rest of Canada there was a mixture of increases and decreases on this measure, with the majority of CMAs experiencing a decreased proportion of their populations living in the urban fringes. Finally, it is apparent that all but five CMAs (Victoria, Kitchener, London, Sudbury and St. John's) have a growing rural population. St. John is Canada's most rural CMA, while Calgary is the least rural.

Overall, urban growth within CMAs is occurring at higher levels in surrounding cities and urban fringes than it is within anchor cities. This raises a number of important issues, particularly as they relate to regionalization and intergovernmental cooperation. In the Vancouver CMA, there are 17 municipal governments within the "Greater Vancouver Regional District." In the Victoria CMA, there are 14 municipal governments in the "Capital Regional District." To manage rapid growth, a myriad of municipal governments must work together to coordinate efforts and strategies. This presents many challenges, and provinces have been known to "help" municipalities resolve these challenges by imposing amalgamation. Some recent examples include:

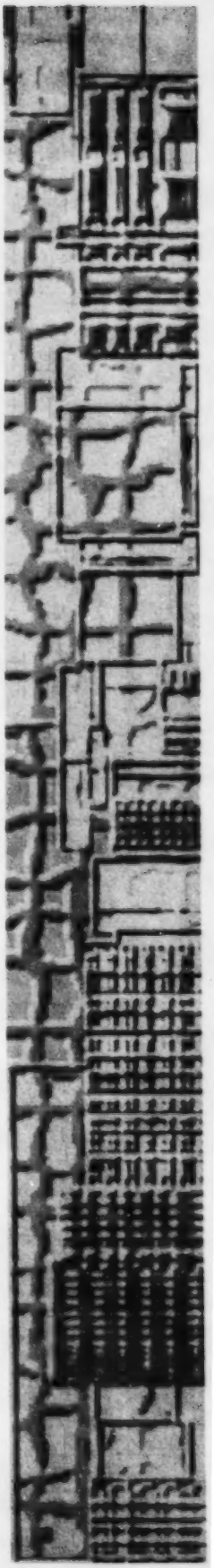
1) Winnipeg: As noted earlier, in 1971 the province of Manitoba amalgamated Winnipeg into a "Unicity." Winnipeg was merged with 13 communities, including Charleswood, Fort Garry, North Kildonan, Old Kildonan, Tuxedo, West Kildonan, St. Vital, Transcona, St. Boniface and St. James-Assiniboia.

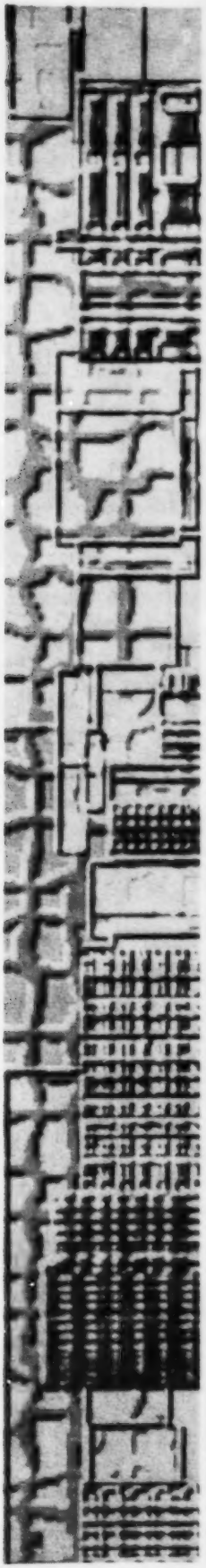
2) The Cape Breton Regional Municipality. This city was created in 1995 by the Nova Scotia government. The municipality is an amalgamation of the city of Sydney, the towns of North Sydney, Sydney Mines, Dominion, New Waterford, Louisbourg and Glace Bay, and the municipality of Cape Breton County.

3) The Halifax Regional Municipality. In 1996, the Nova Scotia government merged the cities of Halifax and Dartmouth, the town of Bedford, and Halifax county into one regional municipality.

4) The Greater Toronto Area. In 1998, the province of Ontario merged Toronto with its five surrounding boroughs (Scarborough, East York, North York, York, and Etobicoke) creating a "mega-city."

Talk about amalgamation is sometimes raised with respect to Vancouver, Victoria, and Edmonton, but the British Columbia and Alberta governments do not appear to be moving in this direction. Provinces often see amalgamation as an advantage, as it reduces duplication of services and increases efficiency. However, municipalities and citizens argue that amalgamation ignores the particular needs and distinct personalities of the component parts. In addition, the amalgamation of large cities presents governance challenges for subsequent city councils. For example, since the 1998 amalgamation, the Toronto city council has been responsible to represent and provide services for 4.8 million people – a full 16% of Canada's total population. Indeed, the Toronto city council represents a population larger than that of all provinces except Ontario and Quebec!





CMAs Within The Provincial Context

Shifting population weights within CMAs have an impact upon the provinces and Canada as a whole. As *Figure 23* illustrates, CMAs are becoming important not only because of their urban populations, but also due to the growing number of rural residents who are closely attached to a major metropolitan node. In 1966, only 8% of rural Canadians lived in CMAs, but by 1996, this number had jumped to include almost 20%. This represents a profound change in the nature of rural life for many Canadians. This change is felt most significantly in Ontario, Alberta and Quebec.

FIGURE 23: Urban-Rural Population in CMAs (1966 and 1996)

	Percentage of Total URBAN Population in CMAs		Percentage of Total RURAL Population in CMAs	
	1966	1996	1966	1996
British Columbia	72.5%	67.0%	18.4%	13.0%
Alberta	73.1%	73.1%	4.3%	21.3%
Saskatchewan	52.7%	61.5%	2.7%	7.4%
Manitoba	77.4%	77.9%	2.7%	14.1%
Western Canada	71.0%	69.8%	6.7%	14.5%
Ontario	76.7%	79.9%	13.1%	26.7%
Quebec	74.9%	78.8%	4.4%	18.3%
Central Canada	75.9%	79.5%	8.9%	22.8%
Nova Scotia	43.7%	54.2%	5.8%	15.2%
New Brunswick	31.1%	25.5%	2.4%	8.9%
Newfoundland	34.6%	47.9%	11.2%	10.0%
Prince Edward Island	--	--	--	--
Atlantic Canada	36.0%	41.6%	5.5%	10.9%
Canada Less West	72.0%	76.3%	8.0%	19.6%
All of Canada	71.8%	74.4%	7.6%	18.1%

SOURCE: Derived by Canada West from Statistics Canada Census Reports, 1966 to 1996

The importance of CMAs to rural life is also seen when we consider rural growth *(Figure 24)*. A full 69% of all rural growth in Canada occurred within CMAs. This pattern is striking: clearly, rural growth in Canada is occurring near large urban centres.

Growth in CMAs: Primary Conclusions

Since 1966, population distributions within CMAs have shifted considerably. Anchor cities are declining as a share of total CMA population, while surrounding cities and rural fringes are seeing an increased share. In the West, urban fringes are also increasing their share. These trends indicate the growing importance of cities to modern rural life, and present need for greater intergovernmental cooperation between municipal governments.

FIGURE 24: Urban-Rural CMA Growth (1966 and 1996)

	URBAN CMA Growth as % of TOTAL URBAN Growth	RURAL CMA Growth as % of TOTAL RURAL Growth
British Columbia	62.3%	0.9%
Alberta	73.1%	100.0%
Saskatchewan	87.4%	100.0%
Manitoba	79.9%	100.0%
Western Canada	68.4%	92.2%
Ontario	85.3%	70.3%
Quebec	95.1%	79.5%
Central Canada	87.7%	74.0%
Nova Scotia	100.0%	46.9%
New Brunswick	0.0%	36.2%
Newfoundland	100.0%	0.0%
Prince Edward Island	--	--
Atlantic Canada	75.5%	37.4%
Canada Less West	86.7%	64.7%
All of Canada	79.4%	69.1%

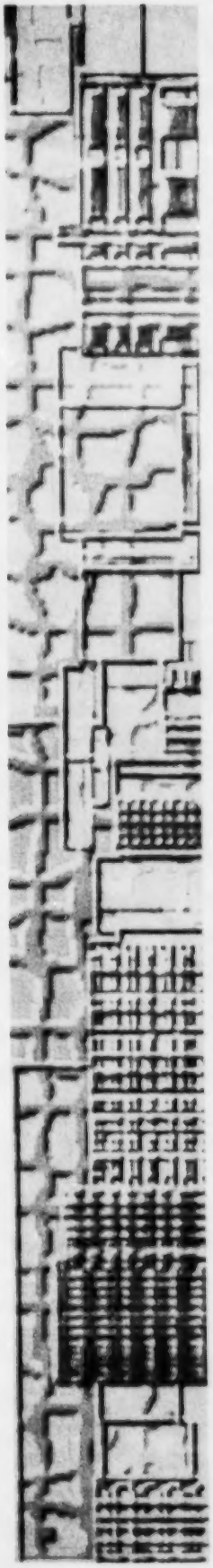
SOURCE: Derived by Canada West from Statistics Canada Census Reports, 1966 to 1996

SOCIETAL TRENDS IN THE CMAs

As all travelers know, each city has its own nature and personality. This personality is based upon its history, its economy and, most importantly, upon its residents. Canadian cities vary in ethnic and racial diversity, age demographics and average educational levels. As this section will demonstrate, urban change is not limited to population growth and increased urban density. Social transformation, seen in the form of demographic shifts, dramatically alters the nature of cities. Another factor impacting upon a city's social nature is crime levels. Crime levels influence the degree of safety felt by residents. This in turn can impact upon the personality or "tone" of the municipality. While social transformation and crime data by no means present a full understanding of a city's personality – indeed, such understanding cannot be reached from quantitative data alone – the data do demonstrate key ways in which Canada's CMAs are similar, and the many ways in which they are certainly unique.

Social Transformation

Social transformation refers to changing urban demographics. As a result of economic, political and other factors, each city develops its own demographic make-up. This make-up creates social diversity and the richness of urban life. At the same time, social transformation impacts upon the issue agenda for cities, due to the fact that each city's issue agenda reflects the particular needs and interests of its residents.

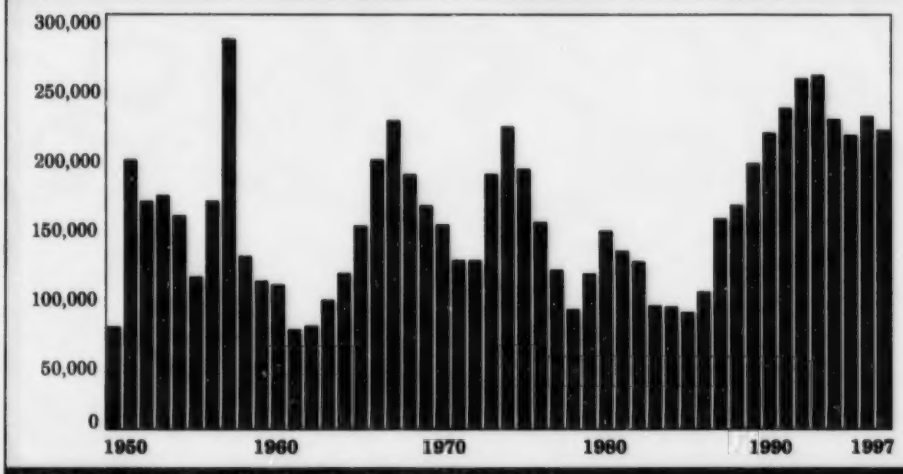


Immigration

An understanding of changes in immigration patterns is essential for any serious analysis of social transformation in Canadian cities. A large immigrant population presents unique urban needs and opportunities. For example, a city with a large population of immigrants from non-English-speaking countries will need a variety of English as a Second Language training courses. The large immigrant population may result in a vibrant non-profit sector, as organizations form to encourage both immigrant settlement and cultural programs. Finally, immigration can provide economic benefits to cities, due to the increased tax base and the fact that many immigrants establish businesses and hire employees.

Canada's immigration patterns have fluctuated dramatically since the 1950s. Although Canada has not matched its 1957 peak of 282,164 immigrants, immigration levels have been climbing since 1985, and remain high *(Figure 25)*.

FIGURE 25: Total Immigration to Canada (1950-1997)

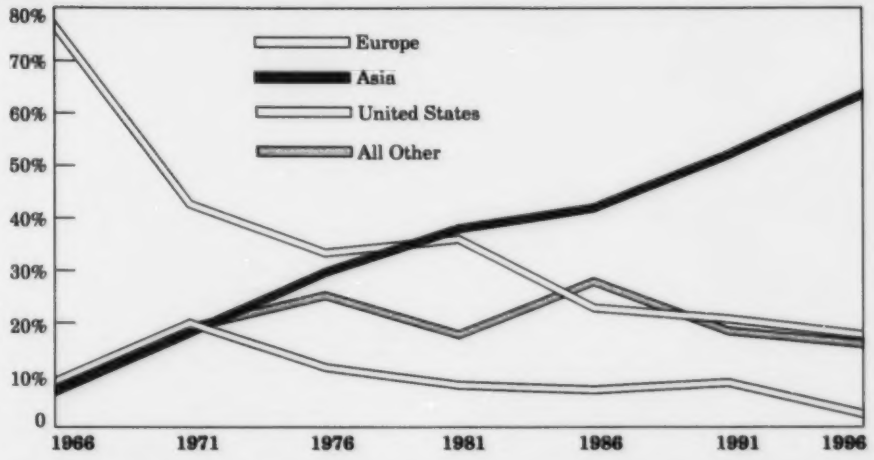


SOURCE: Derived by Canada West from Canadian Global Almanac, 1999

While immigration rates have varied according to national, international and economic factors, there have been clear trends in sources of immigrants coming to Canada *(Figure 26)*. In 1966, Europe was the predominant source of Canadian immigrants, with very few immigrants coming from other locations. By 1996, Canada's immigration source trends are dramatically different. Asia is the predominant source of immigrants, with the number of immigrants from Europe, the United States and all other countries continuing to decline.

The destination of immigrants has also changed over time *(Figure 27)*. British Columbia has seen the most dramatic increase in immigration settlement, with almost one-quarter of all immigrants stating BC as their destination. Quebec has witnessed a dramatic decline in its immigration rates; given that Quebec is the second largest Canadian province, an immigration rate of 13% is strikingly low.

FIGURE 26: Sources of Canadian Immigrants (1966-1996)



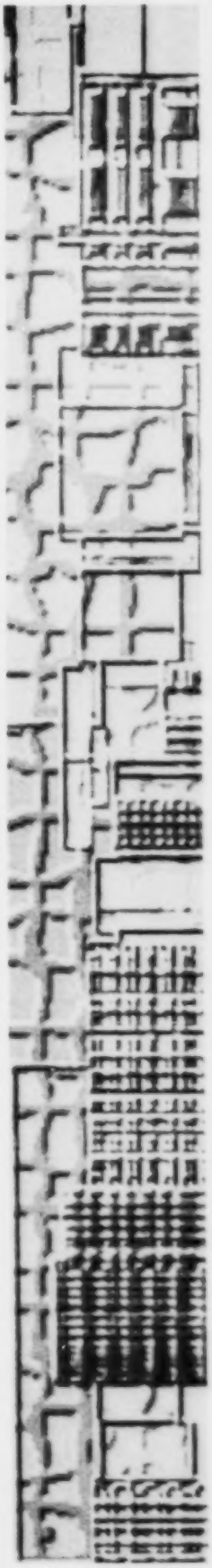
SOURCE: Derived by Canada West from Canadian Global Almanac, 1999.

It should be stressed that immigrants comprise a significant proportion of the Canadian population. In 1996, approximately 18% of Canada's population were immigrants and non-permanent residents. Of these 5.1 million individuals, just over 30% were residing in the West, 68% in Central Canada, 1.6% in Atlantic Canada, and 0.1% in the North.

FIGURE 27: Intended Provincial Destination of Immigrants (1960-1997)

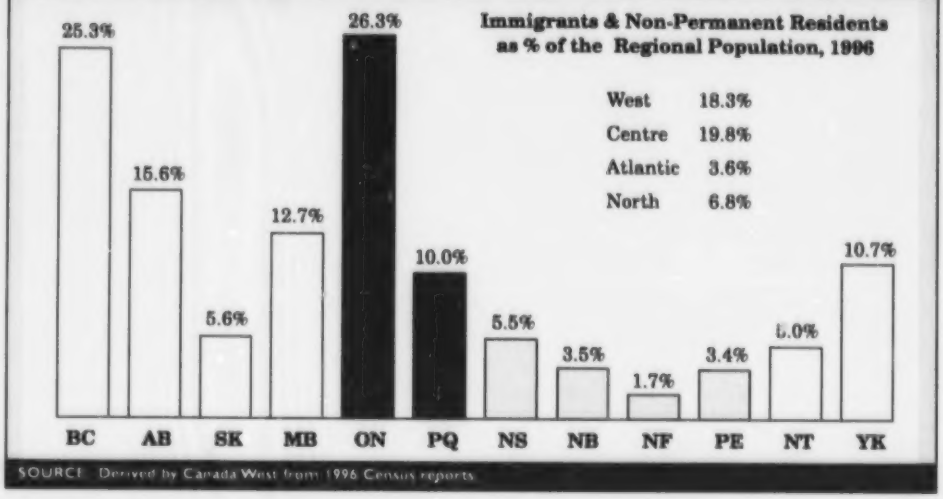
	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1997
British Columbia	9.7%	12.6%	14.7%	15.6%	17.1%	14.5%	13.4%	22.0%
Alberta	6.7%	5.5%	7.0%	8.7%	13.2%	10.7%	8.9%	6.0%
Saskatchewan	2.0%	1.8%	1.2%	1.5%	2.5%	2.3%	1.1%	0.8%
Manitoba	4.2%	2.7%	3.9%	3.8%	5.4%	4.1%	3.1%	1.8%
Western Canada	22.6%	22.6%	26.8%	29.6%	38.2%	31.6%	26.5%	30.6%
Ontario	52.3%	54.3%	54.7%	52.4%	43.5%	48.3%	53.0%	54.6%
Quebec	22.8%	20.7%	15.7%	14.9%	15.7%	17.7%	19.0%	12.8%
Central Canada	75.1%	75.0%	70.4%	67.3%	59.2%	66.0%	72.0%	67.4%
Nova Scotia	1.2%	1.1%	1.4%	1.1%	1.1%	1.2%	0.7%	1.3%
New Brunswick	0.6%	0.7%	0.8%	1.1%	0.8%	0.7%	0.4%	0.3%
Newfoundland	0.3%	0.4%	0.4%	0.6%	0.4%	0.4%	0.3%	0.2%
PEI	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%
Atlantic	2.1%	2.3%	2.7%	2.9%	2.4%	2.4%	1.5%	1.9%
Northern Canada	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%	0.2%	0.2%	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%
Canada Less West	77.4%	77.4%	73.2%	70.4%	61.8%	68.4%	73.5%	69.4%

SOURCE: Derived by Canada West from Canadian Global Almanac, 1999.



The impact of immigrants and non-permanent residents upon provinces varies significantly *(Figure 28)*. Over one-quarter of Ontario and British Columbia residents are immigrants or non-permanent residents. In contrast, Saskatchewan and the four Atlantic provinces have very small immigrant populations.

FIGURE 28: Percent of Population that are Immigrants/Non-Permanent Residents



SOURCE: Derived by Canada West from 1996 Census reports

Immigration is a particularly important urban issue due to the fact that 86% of all immigrants reside in CMAs *(Figure 29)*. Considering that only 62% of all Canadians live in CMAs, this fact indicates that social transformations associated with immigration are highly concentrated in Canada's large urban centres. This fact also indicates that CMAs are highly influenced by changes to immigration policies: a reduction in immigration levels means a reduction in growth rates. The impact of policy change would, however, vary according to region. In the west, 78% of all immigrants and non-permanent residents reside in CMAs, while in central Canada this figure is 90%. However, in Atlantic Canada, only 43% of immigrants and non-permanent residents live in CMAs. Thus, central Canada is most sensitive to changes in immigration policy, while Atlantic Canada is least sensitive.

Immigration patterns have differential effects within the provinces themselves. As *Figure 29* indicates, immigrants are not equally divided between a province's CMAs. In British Columbia, 71% of the provincial immigrant population resides in the Vancouver CMA, with only 7% living in Victoria. In Ontario, a full 65% of provincial immigrants live in Toronto, with 24% living among the other nine CMAs. In Quebec, 88% of provincial immigrants reside in Montreal, with only 4% residing among the other four CMAs. Clearly, in these examples immigrant populations are concentrated in provincial economic hubs. This pattern is not seen as dramatically in Alberta and Saskatchewan.

FIGURE 29: Immigrant, Visible Minorities, and Aboriginals in CMAs (1996)

	% of Provincial Immigrants in CMAs	% of Provincial Visible Minorities in CMAs	% of Provincial Aboriginals in CMAs
Victoria	6.4%	3.5%	4.7%
Vancouver	70.5%	85.5%	22.3%
Edmonton	39.1%	42.9%	26.7%
Calgary	42.2%	47.4%	12.4%
Saskatoon	32.0%	41.8%	14.5%
Regina	29.1%	38.4%	12.2%
Winnipeg	82.2%	94.8%	35.6%
Western Canada	78.0%	89.5%	32.1%
Hamilton	5.3%	2.9%	3.9%
Kitchener	3.0%	2.0%	1.6%
London	2.8%	1.8%	3.1%
Oshawa	1.6%	1.0%	1.5%
Ottawa-Hull	6.0%	6.9%	8.2%
St. Catharines	2.5%	0.8%	2.8%
Sudbury	0.4%	0.2%	3.3%
Thunder Bay	0.6%	0.2%	5.2%
Toronto	65.2%	79.6%	11.4%
Windsor	2.1%	0.2%	1.6%
Ontario	89.5%	96.9%	42.5%
Chicoutimi	0.2%	0.2%	1.8%
Montreal	88.3%	92.5%	13.9%
Quebec City	2.7%	2.3%	3.6%
Sherbrooke	1.0%	0.7%	0.6%
Trois-Rivieres	0.4%	0.3%	1.1%
Quebec	92.5%	95.9%	21.0%
Halifax	56.5%	71.3%	17.1%
St. John	19.8%	32.0%	6.5%
St. John's	60.2%	62.1%	4.9%
Atlantic Canada	42.6%	61.0%	9.2%
Canada Less West	88.8%	95.8%	26.5%
Canada	85.6%	93.8%	30.0%

SOURCE: Derived by Canada West from Statistics Canada Census Reports, 1996

What is the impact of these immigration patterns upon the CMAs? First, the CMAs vary in the proportion of their residents that are immigrants and non-permanent residents *(Figure 30, page 50)*. Toronto and Vancouver boast the highest immigrant make-up: 43% of the Toronto population and 36% of the Vancouver population are immigrants or non-permanent residents. At the other extreme, the Atlantic and Quebec CMAs (excluding Montreal and Halifax) have very small immigrant populations, representing less than 5% of the urban residents. Given that immigration presents cities with particular opportunities and policy needs, these variations in immigration patterns mean that the CMAs differ greatly in their policy environments.

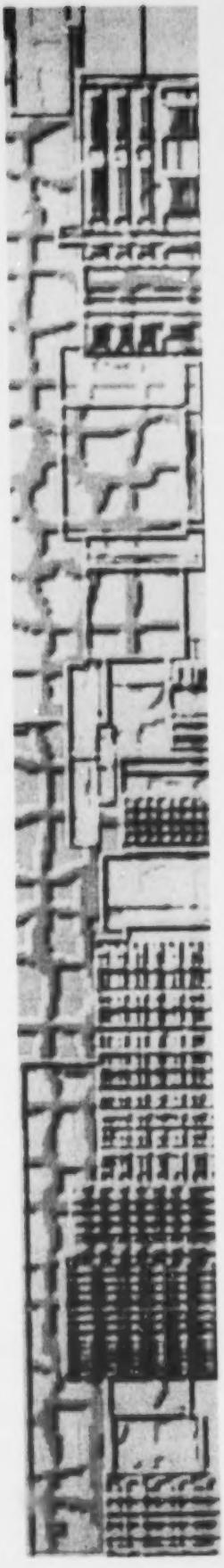


FIGURE 30: A Social Profile of Canada's Census Metropolitan Areas, 1996

	Ethnic Diversity			Age			Education		In-Migration
	% Pop That is Immigrant	% Pop That is Visible Minority	% Pop That is Aboriginal	% Pop Under 25	% Pop Over 65	Average Age	Less Than Grade Nine	Completed University	Net In-Migration Per 1,000 Residents
Victoria	19.9%	7.6%	2.2%	29.1%	17.9%	39.5	5.0%	23.0%	– 0.3
Vancouver	36.2%	31.1%	1.7%	31.6%	11.9%	36.2	8.5%	22.7%	+ 13.3
Edmonton	19.0%	13.5%	3.8%	36.0%	9.8%	34.0	8.2%	18.7%	+ 12.7
Calgary	21.5%	15.6%	1.9%	35.0%	8.7%	33.6	6.2%	23.5%	+ 28.0
Saskatoon	8.1%	5.2%	7.5%	38.2%	11.2%	33.8	9.9%	21.0%	+ 3.7
Regina	8.4%	5.4%	7.1%	36.9%	11.8%	34.5	9.3%	20.6%	– 3.1
Winnipeg	17.4%	11.1%	6.9%	33.9%	13.3%	36.1	10.6%	18.7%	– 3.0
*** Western Canada**	18.3%	12.3%	6.0%	34.9%	12.2%	*	10.1%	17.2%	+ 2.9
Hamilton	24.0%	7.9%	0.9%	32.7%	13.9%	36.7	11.5%	16.3%	+ 9.4
Kitchener	22.3%	8.9%	0.6%	35.8%	10.8%	34.4	11.8%	17.1%	+ 11.2
London	19.7%	7.7%	1.1%	34.2%	12.6%	35.7	8.2%	19.0%	+ 5.1
Oshawa	16.7%	6.0%	0.8%	36.3%	9.9%	33.6	8.5%	12.2%	+ 13.4
Ottawa-Hull	16.8%	11.5%	1.2%	33.7%	10.1%	34.8	9.1%	28.3%	+ 7.8
St. Catharines	18.8%	3.7%	1.1%	31.9%	16.3%	38.1	12.8%	12.1%	+ *7.0
Sudbury	7.7%	1.8%	2.9%	34.6%	11.8%	35.7	15.0%	12.7%	– 13.5
Thunder Bay	12.4%	2.2%	5.9%	33.1%	14.8%	36.7	12.5%	14.7%	– 9.0
Toronto	43.1%	31.6%	0.4%	33.1%	11.0%	35.2	12.0%	24.1%	+ 15.8
Windsor	21.2%	10.0%	0.8%	34.2%	13.0%	35.9	11.9%	15.5%	+ 12.5
*** Ontario**	26.3%	15.8%	1.3%	33.6%	12.4%	*	11.7%	18.8%	+ 0.8
Chicoutimi	0.8%	0.4%	0.8%	34.6%	10.8%	35.5	17.0%	14.4%	– 3.4
Montreal	19.0%	12.2%	0.3%	31.8%	12.0%	36.3	17.9%	21.0%	– 3.1
Quebec	2.9%	1.5%	0.4%	31.5%	11.7%	36.6	14.8%	21.7%	– 0.1
Sherbrooke	4.7%	2.1%	0.3%	34.1%	12.2%	36.1	18.0%	19.6%	+ 3.1
Trois-Rivieres	1.8%	0.9%	0.5%	31.6%	13.1%	37.4	18.9%	16.2%	– 2.5
*** Quebec**	10.0%	6.2%	1.0%	32.5%	12.1%	*	20.4%	16.9%	– 2.3
Halifax	7.5%	6.8%	0.6%	33.6%	10.1%	34.8	7.3%	23.5%	+ 5.1
St. John	4.0%	2.1%	0.5%	34.6%	12.6%	35.8	12.2%	14.2%	– 6.5
St. John's	3.3%	1.4%	0.4%	35.8%	10.0%	34.4	10.7%	18.9%	– 6.9
***Atlantic Canada**	3.6%	1.9%	1.6%	34.3%	12.4%	*	16.9%	13.7%	– 6.6
***Canada Less West**	17.9%	10.8%	1.5%	33.4%	12.2%	*	15.4%	17.5%	– 1.2
***Canada**	18.0%	11.2%	2.8%	33.8%	12.2%	35.8	13.8%	17.4%	0.0

Source: Derived by CWF from Statistics Canada Census data for 1996 and Statistics Canada migration data for 1997/98.

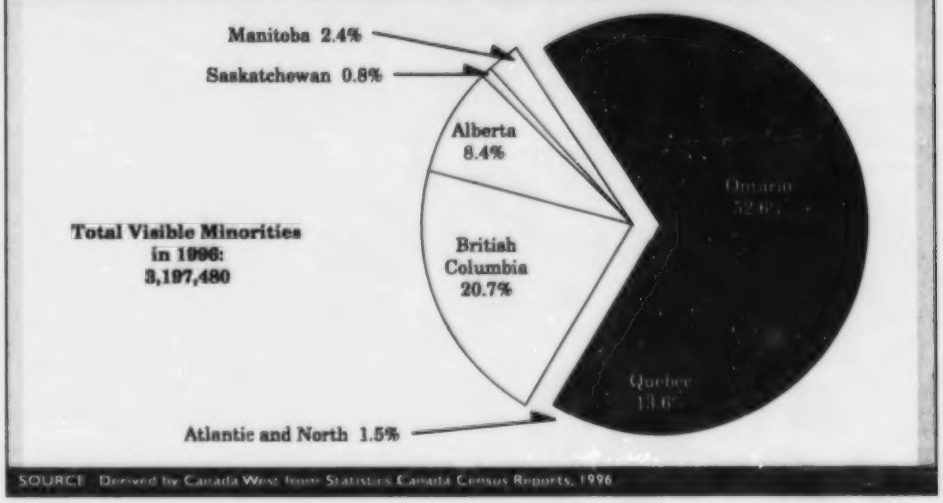
*NOTE: Average ages for regions are not available. Migration rate for St. Catharines is for 1996/97. Educational levels are for those aged 25 and over. Regional/National averages are averages for the entire region.

The second (and related) impact of changing immigration patterns is that CMAs each have unique ethnic and racial demographics. It is to this topic that we shall now turn.

Ethnic and Racial Demographics

In 1996, 3.2 million Canadians (11%) were visible minorities. Of this population, 66% lived in central Canada and 32% lived in the West, with the remaining 1.5% residing in either the Atlantic provinces or the North *(Figure 31)*. The concentration of the visible minority population in Ontario and (to a lesser extent) British Columbia reflects both immigration patterns and the relative sizes of these provinces within Canada.

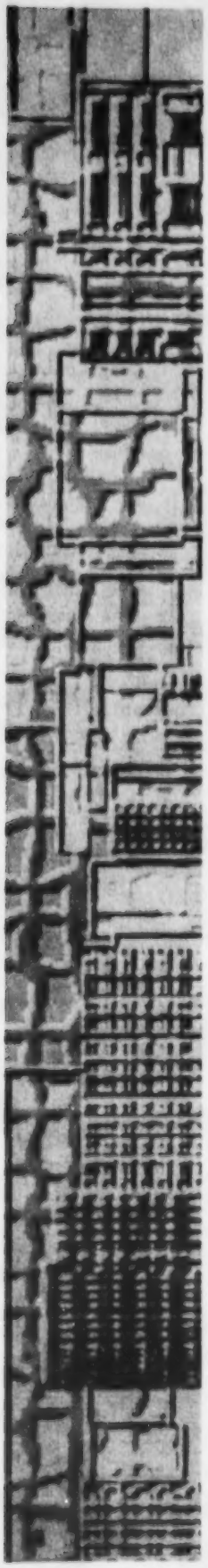
FIGURE 31: The Distribution of Visible Minorities in Canada, 1996



SOURCE: Derived by Canada West from Statistics Canada Census Reports, 1996

Visible minority peoples are highly urban, with a full 94% (as compared to 62% for Canada as a whole) of the visible minority population concentrated in CMAs *(see Figure 29 on page 49)*. Again, the Atlantic region varies from this pattern: while 97% of central Canadian and 90% of western Canadian visible minorities live in CMAs, only 61% of Atlantic Canadians are CMA residents. Within the provinces, a pattern emerges paralleling that seen earlier with immigration statistics. In Ontario, British Columbia and Quebec, visible minority populations are highly concentrated in the largest provincial CMA. However, in Alberta and Saskatchewan, visible minority populations are roughly equitably distributed between CMAs.

Looking at the cities themselves *(see Figure 30)*, Toronto and Vancouver are significantly more ethnically diverse than the other CMAs. It is interesting to note that Calgary and Edmonton rank third and fourth for ethnic diversity, ahead of Montreal, Ottawa and Winnipeg. Finally, the lack of ethnic diversity in many CMAs, particularly in Quebec and the Atlantic region (excluding Montreal and Halifax), is striking: nine of Canada's 25 CMAs have a visible minority population of less than 5%. The range of ethnic diversity in Canada's CMAs – from a low of 0.4% in Chicoutimi-Jonquiere to a high of 32% in Toronto – reinforces the conclusion that CMAs each have unique cultural influences and personalities.

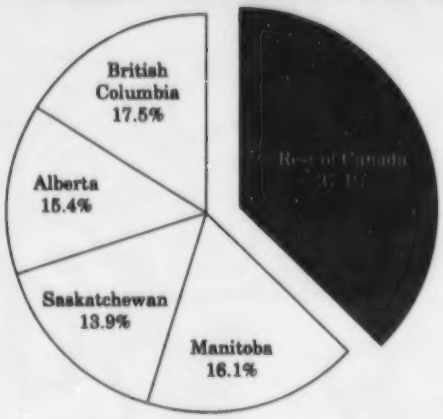


Aboriginal Peoples

Another important source of social transformation is the influx of Aboriginal peoples into urban centres. This is a social dynamic that particularly impacts upon Western cities, due to the fact that just under two-thirds of all Aboriginal peoples in Canada reside within the four western provinces *(Figure 32)*. It should be noted that approximately 2.8% of Canada's total population is Aboriginal; this population figure is artificially low due to the fact that not all First Nations reserves were counted in the last census in 1996.

FIGURE 32: Provincial Residency of Canada's Aboriginal Peoples

Just under two-thirds (62.9%) of all Aboriginal peoples in Canada reside in one of the four western provinces. Only 37% of Aboriginals reside in provinces outside the West. Within the West, the province of BC has the largest share, and Saskatchewan the lowest share.



Total Aboriginal Peoples 799,010

SOURCE: Derived by Canada West from Statistics Canada Census Reports, 1996

In Canada as a whole, 30% of all Aboriginal peoples live in a CMA *(refer to Figure 29, page 49)*. The pattern is roughly even across the regions, with the exception of the Atlantic region. In the West and Central Canada respectively, 32% and 36% of all Aboriginal peoples live in CMAs, but this figure drops to only 9% in Atlantic Canada. [8]

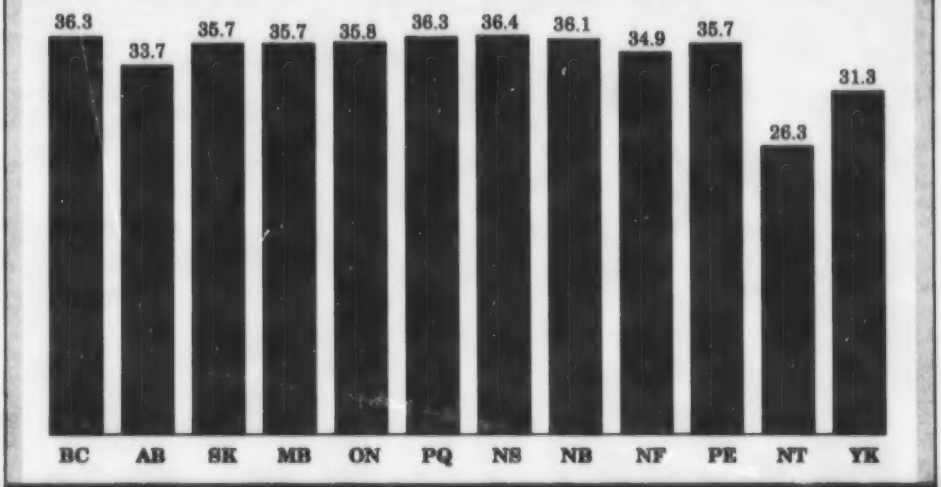
While Aboriginal peoples makeup a small percentage of Canadian CMA population, their weight in the Saskatoon, Regina and Winnipeg CMAs is quite considerable *(refer to Figure 30, page 50)*. Of all Canadian CMAs, Saskatoon has the largest proportionate Aboriginal population: 8% of Saskatoon's total municipal population is Aboriginal. Regina and Winnipeg present similar demographics, with 7% of their respective populations reporting Aboriginal heritage. These figures contrast dramatically with the Quebec, Atlantic and Ontario CMAs, most of which have an Aboriginal population of approximately 1% or less. Indeed, only Thunder Bay (6%) and Sudbury (3%) break this pattern. Clearly, a significant part of the contemporary social dynamics confronting Aboriginal peoples occurs in the three prairie cities, and the intersection of Aboriginal communities and municipal governments is becoming increasingly important.

Age and Educational Levels

The age and education demographics of a city speak not only to its personality, but also to the potential of the urban economy. While a number of factors, including location, resource base and tax environment, are related to a city's economic potential, the presence of a young and skilled workforce is strongly correlated with economic growth. This is not to say that the presence of such a workforce results in economic growth; as inter-provincial brain drain figures demonstrate, young and educated workers often migrate to particular cities due to employment potential.[9] This inter-provincial migration results in cities with very particular age and education demographics, which in turn impact upon the nature of the city itself.

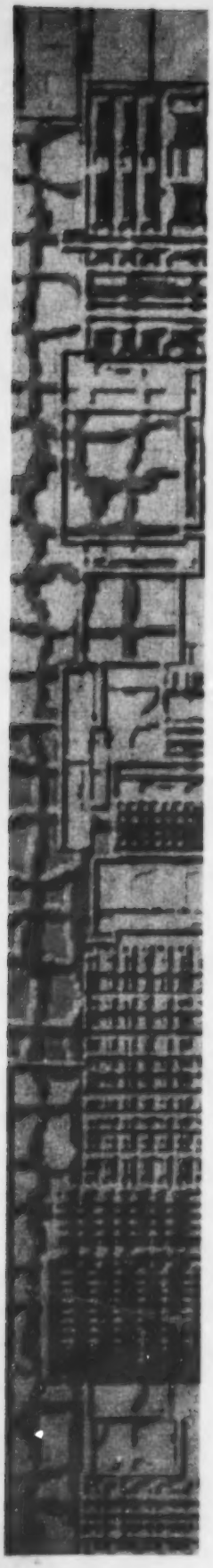
The majority of Canadians (54%) fall between the ages of 26 and 64, with 34% of the population aged 25 and under, and 12% aged 65 and over. The average age in Canada is 35.8 years. This average is relatively consistent for all provinces except Alberta, which has a slightly younger population *(Figure 33)*. Canada's youngest population resides in the territories, while our oldest population resides in British Columbia, Nova Scotia, and Quebec.

FIGURE 33: Average Age of Citizens by Province and Territory, 1996



SOURCE: Derived by Canada West from Statistics Canada Census Reports, 1996

The average ages in the CMAs reflect a different pattern, however *(refer to Figure 30, page 50)*. Among CMAs, the Atlantic CMAs are the youngest (average age is 35.0), followed by the West (35.4), Ontario (35.7) and Quebec (36.4). Looking at average ages does not allow for a full understanding of age demographics, so it is useful to also consider three age categories: youth (25 and under), adult (aged 25-64), and senior (aged 65 and over). From an urban issue perspective, each category has particular needs: youth require primary, secondary and post-secondary educational opportunities, adults require employment opportunities and family services, while seniors can present particular



health service and housing needs. It should also be noted that seniors are often highly involved in their communities, and thus represent a large pool of voluntary sector support.

There has been a lot of concern in recent years about an aging population. If a city has a large population in the 65+ category, this presents particular service needs, and needs that will likely grow. Not surprisingly, temperate Victoria has the largest proportion of retirement-age residents (18%). The only other CMA with a senior population exceeding 15% is St. Catharines. Calgary, Edmonton and Oshawa have the smallest seniors populations (under 10%). Interestingly, Saskatoon and Regina have the greatest proportion of youth relative to the other CMAs.

The presence of a large workforce can be an economic advantage for CMAs. Adults represent the bulk of a city's workforce, and as *Figure 30* demonstrates, there are clear differences in workforce sizes across the CMAs (workforce being defined here as those between ages 25 and 64). The largest workforces are found in Quebec City, Vancouver, Calgary, Halifax and Montreal, while Saskatoon, Regina and St. Catharines have the smallest work forces.

But age alone does not determine the viability of a workforce. Educational levels also play a crucial role. Two-thirds of the Canadian population have a high school diploma, 44% have a post-secondary diploma or trade certificate, and 17% of the population hold at least one university degree. Only 14% of the population completed less than a grade nine education.

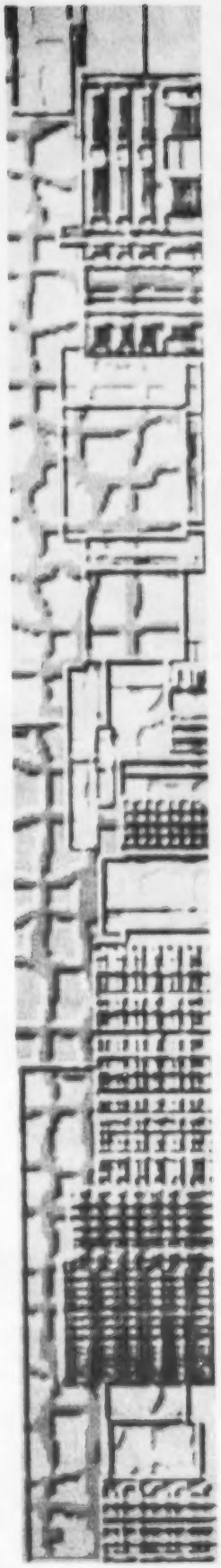
There are some wide regional and provincial variations in education levels *(Figure 34)*. Ontario has the highest proportion of residents who completed university degrees (19%), followed by the West (17%), Quebec (17%), the North (17%) and Atlantic Canada (14%). Quebec has the highest proportion of residents who completed less than grade nine (20%), followed by Atlantic Canada (17%), the North (16%), Ontario (12%) and the West (10%). Judging by these two extremes, Ontario and the West have the highest education levels, while Quebec and Atlantic Canada have the lowest.

Which CMA has the most educated population? As *Figure 30 (page 50)* illustrates, Ottawa-Hull lays claim to the largest concentration of university degrees (28%), followed by Toronto, Calgary, and Halifax (each at 24%). Oshawa and St. Catharines have the lowest percentage of degree-holders, but it should also be noted that these two cities have relatively low percentages of residents who did not complete grade nine. As the regional data suggest, the Quebec CMAs have the largest percentage of residents who did not complete formal education. Surprisingly, Montreal has the third largest percentage of residents falling into this educational category.

FIGURE 34: Educational Levels, 1996

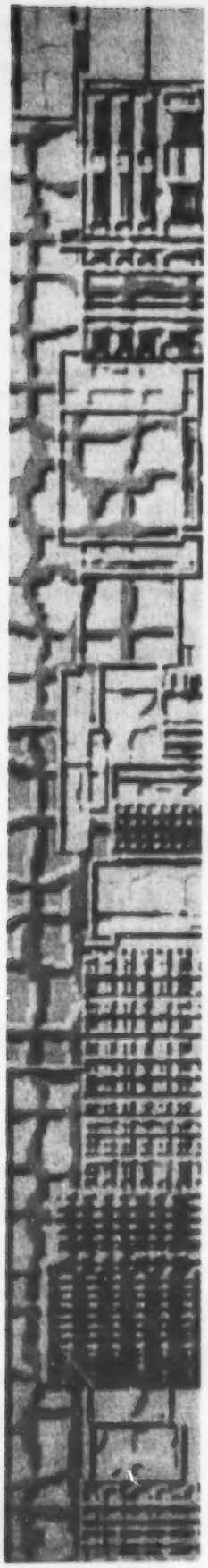
	Less than Grade Nine	High School	Diploma or Certificate	Completed University
British Columbia	8.5%	77.4%	48.1%	18.2%
Alberta	8.6%	69.8%	48.1%	17.4%
Saskatchewan	15.4%	59.2%	40.2%	14.5%
Manitoba	14.5%	60.8%	40.7%	15.3%
Western Canada	10.1%	68.3%	46.3%	17.2%
Ontario	11.7%	69.4%	45.9%	18.8%
Quebec	20.4%	64.8%	40.0%	16.9%
Central Canada	15.2%	67.5%	43.5%	18.0%
Nova Scotia	12.6%	62.9%	46.0%	15.8%
New Brunswick	19.4%	60.6%	39.3%	13.1%
Newfoundland	21.2%	55.1%	40.0%	11.1%
Prince Edward Island	15.8%	29.9%	42.3%	13.7%
Atlantic Canada	16.9%	60.2%	42.3%	13.7%
Northwest Territories	21.5%	65.3%	47.%3	15.1%
Yukon	6.4%	76.9%	56.8%	19.2%
Northern Canada	15.9%	69.6%	50.8%	16.6%
Canada	13.8%	67.2%	44.2%	17.4%

SOURCE: Derived by Canada West from Statistics Canada Census Reports, 1996



Overall, the age and education demographics of a city are influential in a number of ways. Citizens of differing ages and education levels have different needs and goals, and bring to a city unique generational perspectives and preferences. In addition, high education levels and a young population work in tandem with a strong economy.

To what extent are the age and educational levels of the CMAs reflective of Canadian migration patterns? While it is beyond the limits of these data to specify which Canadians migrate to other cities, there are some moderate correlations between age, education and net migration rates *(refer to Figure 30, page 50)*. Calgary and Toronto both have high net migration rates, education levels and a large population within the workforce age. The migration rates are important not only for their impact upon age and education levels, but also due to the fact that a high migration levels means that a city acts as home to Canadians from a variety of regions. This in turn impacts urban social diversity.



Social Transformation: Primary Conclusions

As we have seen, Canadian CMAs are undergoing a number of social transformations. First, Canada's immigration patterns have shifted dramatically since 1966 as Asia has replaced Europe as the predominant source of immigrants. Ontario and British Columbia are the top two immigrant destinations, and while Quebec is the third most popular destination, it receives a significantly smaller proportion of Canadian immigrants than it did in 1966. Most immigrants reside in CMAs, which renders cities highly sensitive to changes in immigration policy. Second, most of Canada's visible minorities reside in CMAs, but the cities do vary widely in their levels of ethnic and racial diversity. Toronto and Vancouver emerge as Canada's most ethnically diverse cities, followed by Calgary and Edmonton. One-third of Canada's CMAs have low levels of ethnic diversity (less than 5% visible minority population). Within provinces, immigrant and visible minority populations do not disperse equally between CMAs, but rather tend to concentrate in the largest provincial economic centres, such as Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal. Third, approximately one-third of Canada's Aboriginal peoples reside in CMAs. Saskatoon, Regina and Winnipeg have the largest Aboriginal populations, while most others have very small Aboriginal populations. Finally, due to interprovincial migration, among other factors, cities vary in their age and population demographics. This impacts upon the economic and social environment of each city.

Social transformation impacts upon each city in a varying degree; as a result, Canada's CMAs have great differences in demographic make-up. This in turn means that each CMA has a unique policy environment in which it must operate. Cities with high levels of ethnic diversity and a large retirement population face different opportunities and challenges than do cities with large number of Aboriginal peoples and a young population. The point to stress is that the needs of each city differ, which eliminates the ability to devise a "one-size-fits-all" agenda or policy strategy for the CMAs.

Crime

It is difficult for researchers to accurately measure the extent of crime in a community, yet it is a valuable indicator that touches on quality of life issues. The most common measure, and the measure used in the following discussion, is "reported" crime – crimes reported to police. However, public surveys measuring crime victimization suggests that "approximately 40% of crimes go unreported to police." [10] Thus, reported crime statistics can underestimate actual crime, and they may not be indicative of the "real" crime rate in a city or province.

This presents a particular problem when comparing crime rates across jurisdictions. Is City X's reported crime rate higher than City Y's because crime is truly higher in City X, or are residents of City X simply more willing to report crimes committed? The point to stress is that there is a gap between reported and actual crime, and the size of this gap may vary between cities.

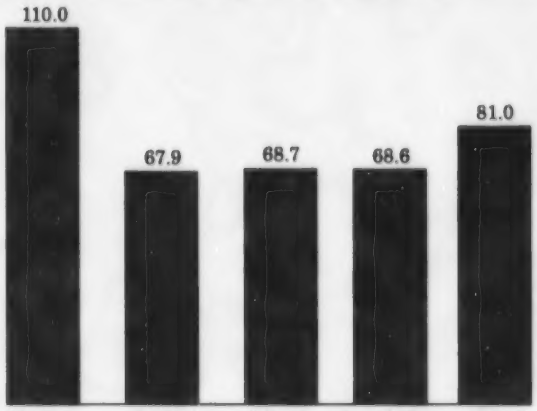
Regional Variations in Crime Levels

Reported crime rates vary dramatically across Canada. Looking first regionally, it is clear that Western Canada reports significantly higher crime rates than both Central and Atlantic Canada *(Figure 35)*. This pattern is seen in violent crime (e.g., homicide, assault, sexual assault), property crime (e.g., theft, fraud), and other crime (e.g., arson, prostitution).

FIGURE 35: Reported Crime Rates Per 1,000 Across Canada's Regions, 1998

Western Canada has a crime rate that is 36% higher than the country's crime rate as a whole.

Compared to the "rest of Canada" the West's crime rate is fully 60% higher.



SOURCE: Derived by Canada West from Statistics Canada, 1998

This pattern is demonstrated more clearly in *Figure 36*, which uses 1998 reported crime rates to rank order the provinces in the three crime categories (violent, property, other) as well as total crime. Looking at each column, it is striking that the four western provinces hold top spots on each crime dimension.

FIGURE 36: Reported Crime Rates Per 1,000 in the Provinces, 1998

Total Crimes		Violent Crimes		Property Crimes		Other Crimes	
Saskatchewan	124.0	Manitoba	16.1	British Columbia	71.8	Saskatchewan	47.3
British Columbia	121.4	Saskatchewan	15.9	Saskatchewan	60.8	Manitoba	38.4
Manitoba	106.1	British Columbia	13.4	Manitoba	51.6	British Columbia	36.2
Alberta	90.4	Alberta	10.8	Alberta	49.2	Nova Scotia	31.0
Nova Scotia	81.4	Nova Scotia	9.8	Quebec	40.8	Alberta	30.4
Ontario	70.2	Ontario	8.9	Nova Scotia	40.6	PEI	28.0
Quebec	64.2	Newfoundland	8.9	Ontario	38.6	New Brunswick	25.1
PEI	62.8	New Brunwick	8.8	New Brunswick	28.1	Ontario	22.7
New Brunswick	62.0	PEI	7.3	PEI	27.5	Newfoundland	22.4
Newfoundland	58.0	Quebec	6.4	Newfoundland	26.7	Quebec	17.0

SOURCE: Derived by Canada West from Statistics Canada, 1998

This is unique from other provinces, whose reported crime rates are more dependent upon crime category. For example, Quebec boasts low violent and other crime rates, but has an average property crime rate. Similarly, PEI scores low in two crime categories (violent and property crimes), but reports average levels of other crime.

The Western provinces are notable not only for "leading" Canadian crime rates, but also for the size of the gaps between their "highs" and other provinces' "lows." Violent crime in Manitoba is 2.5 times that reported in Quebec, property crime in BC is 2.7 times that reported in Newfoundland, and "other" crime in Saskatchewan is 2.8 times that of Quebec. The high reported crime rates in Western Canada raise a number of compelling questions:

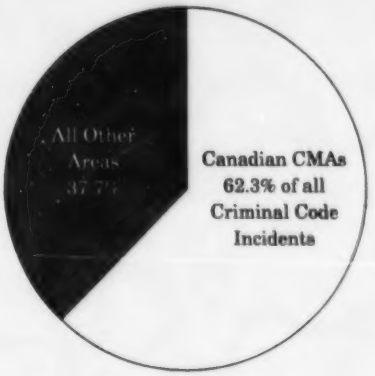
- Are the high crime rates in western Canada a function of more crimes committed or more crimes reported?
- To what extent do crime rates vary with the mandates and programs of police forces?
- What is the impact of community policing and crime prevention initiatives?
- What role do the unique demographics of the West play in crime rates?
- Are there regional variations in the public's willingness to report crimes?
- Are there regional variations in the levels of organized crime? What role does organized crime play in Western Canadian crime rates?

Unfortunately, these questions go beyond the limits of this study and the readily available data. Clearly, more research on these questions is needed to better understand to what extent crime exists in Western Canada, and if it is higher than the rest of the country, how to address the clear challenge that this presents.

Urban Crime

To what extent is crime an urban phenomenon? If crime is predominantly urban-based, we would expect cities to account for a higher percentage of Canada's total crime rates than their populations would warrant. If crime is not related to urbanity, we would expect crime rates to reflect population distributions. ***Figure 37*** divides total 1998 reported offenses into two categories – crimes that occurred in CMAs and crimes that occurred outside CMAs. As this data illustrates, CMAs account for about 62% of total reported crime – roughly the same proportion as their population would warrant.

FIGURE 37: Reported Crime in CMAs and Outside of CMAs



	CMAs	Other Areas
Violent Crime	57.5%	42.5%
Property Crime	65.4%	34.6%
Other Crime	51.4%	48.6%

CMAs as a Percentage of Canadian Population	61.9%
Other Areas as a Percentage of Canadian Population	38.1%

SOURCE: Derived by Canada West from Statistics Canada, 1998.

This pattern is subject to provincial variations, as demonstrated in *Figure 38*. Looking at the provinces individually, only British Columbia has CMA reported crime rates that reflect the population weight. In three provinces – Alberta, Manitoba and Ontario - CMAs report lower total crime rates than their population figures warrant. In the remaining five provinces, CMA total crime rates are higher than expected – over 8% higher in both Quebec and Newfoundland. (PEI is excluded from this measure due to the fact that it does not have a CMA). Thus, while crime is not a CMA phenomenon for Canada as a whole, crime is higher in CMAs in half of Canada's provinces. This is because CMA crime is low or proportionate in three of Canada's four largest provinces – thus pushing national figures down.

There are distinctions between CMA and non-CMA crime. Looking at Canada as a whole, violent crime and other crime rates are slightly lower in CMAs than population figures would suggest *(refer to Figure 37)*. CMAs do report higher property crime rates (65%), but again this figure closely parallels population figures. Overall, the data suggest that Canadian reported crime rates are not a function of CMAs or population-density.

This national finding does not hold for all provinces. Provincial data suggest that there are sharp CMA and non-CMA distinctions in the types of crimes reported. With the exception of Quebec, CMAs account for a higher proportion of property crime than population figures warrant. In the western provinces and Ontario, CMAs report lower violent and other crimes; this pattern is reversed for Quebec and New Brunswick.

The crime that generates the greatest amount of public attention and fear is homicide. Are murder rates higher in CMAs than their population numbers would warrant? Not really. Homicide rates tend to

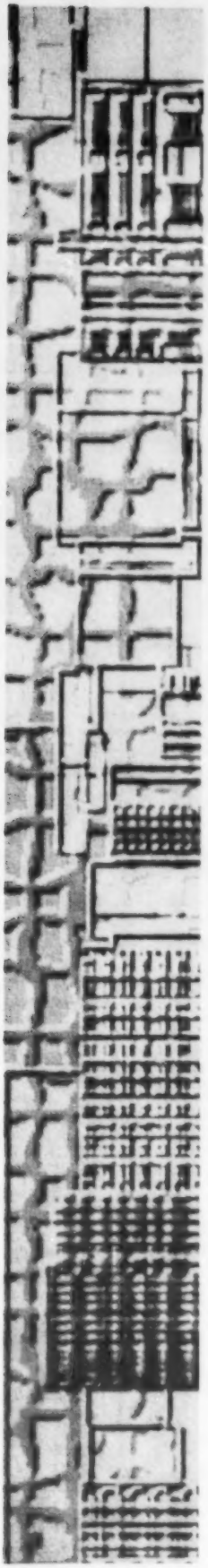


FIGURE 38: Percentage of Provincial or Regional Reported Crime Occurring in a CMA

	CMA's as % of the Population	Violent Crime	Property Crime	Other Crime	Total Offenses
British Columbia	57.8%	51.2%	63.8%	46.4%	57.2%
Alberta	62.7%	53.3%	65.1%	46.1%	57.3%
Saskatchewan	41.8%	40.1%	51.9%	36.4%	44.5%
Manitoba	59.4%	48.0%	65.8%	45.3%	55.7%
Western Canada	57.8%	49.8%	63.0%	44.7%	55.4%
Ontario	71.4%	66.8%	67.5%	58.3%	64.4%
Quebec	65.9%	75.4%	74.4%	72.9%	74.1%
Central Canada	69.2%	69.5%	70.3%	63.0%	68.0%
Nova Scotia	37.2%	37.9%	54.3%	32.5%	44.0%
New Brunswick	16.9%	21.4%	20.4%	17.3%	19.3%
Newfoundland	31.8%	34.5%	50.9%	30.8%	40.6%
Prince Edward Island	--	--	--	--	--
Atlantic Canada	27.4%	30.3%	41.8%	25.7%	34.0%
Canada Less West	64.2%	62.9%	67.1%	56.4%	63.2%

SOURCE: Derived by Canada West from Statistics Canada, 1998

resemble population weight. For example, in 1996, Vancouver accounted for 49% of the BC population, but only 45% of all BC homicides. Toronto accounted for 39% of the Ontario population, and 42% of all Ontario homicides. Calgary, like Vancouver, had a rate lower than its population weight would predict, and Montreal and Winnipeg both had rates proportionate to their populations. Only Edmonton had deviation from this general pattern – the city accounted for 32% of the Alberta population and 38% of all Alberta homicides – but even this rate is not wildly out of proportion.

Figure 39 presents reported crime rates for each of the CMAs. It should come at no surprise that western Canadian CMAs post the worst – that is to say, the highest – reported crime rates. Regina, Saskatoon and Victoria report particularly high levels in all categories. What is striking about these data is that crime rates are low in Toronto, Canada's largest CMA, and moderate in Montreal and Calgary, two other large CMAs. This finding reinforces the conclusion that reported crime is not simply a factor of population size. The data also show that reported crime is not a function of police force size.

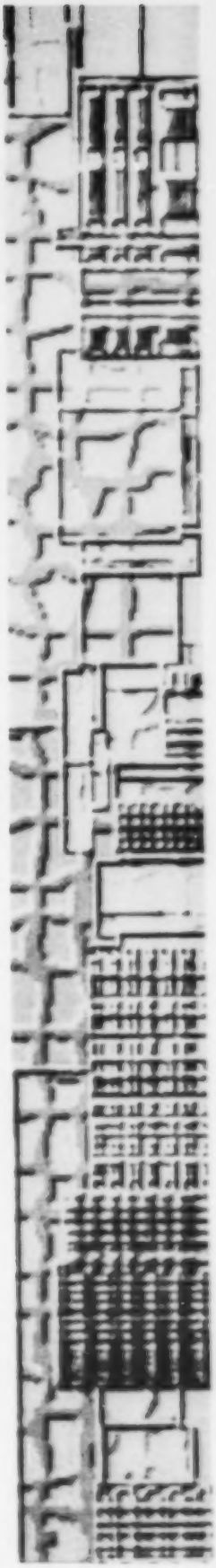
However, the total crime rate numbers do not reflect what is going on within the crime categories. For example, in 1996 property crimes were only slightly higher in CMAs, but specific types of property crimes were much higher within certain CMAs. This point is better made by two illustrations.

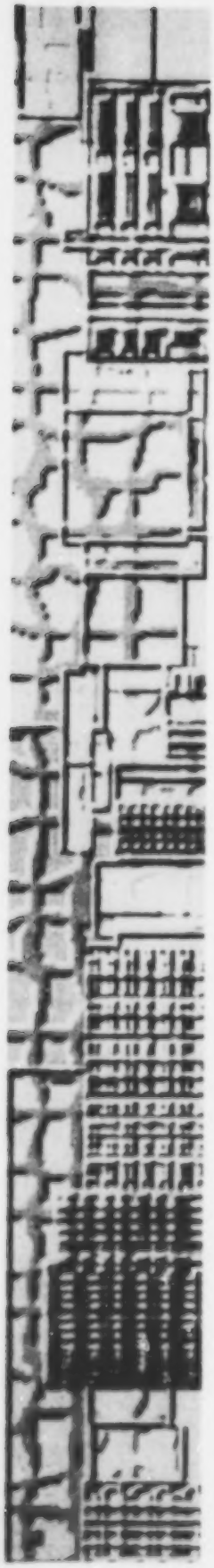
FIGURE 39: Reported Crime Rates in CMAs, 1998

	Violent Crimes	Property Crimes	Other Crimes	Total Crimes	Police Officers per 1,000 People
Vancouver	11.7	82.4	27.3	121.4	1.46
Victoria	13.4	60.2	40.2	113.8	1.48
Edmonton	10.0	49.8	27.6	87.4	1.47
Calgary	8.5	52.5	17.1	78.1	1.36
Saskatoon	14.1	63.1	40.6	117.8	1.55
Regina	16.5	89.5	41.9	147.9	1.74
Winnipeg	13.0	57.2	29.4	99.5	1.82
Western Canada	13.2	60.9	35.9	110.0	--
Hamilton	10.3	39.6	20.9	70.7	1.35
Kitchener	8.0	43.0	17.6	68.5	1.18
London	9.0	49.2	24.7	82.8	1.29
Oshawa	*	*	*	*	*
Ottawa	8.8	45.9	22.0	76.7	1.30
St. Catharines	6.4	43.2	25.0	74.7	1.25
Sudbury	8.8	42.8	19.4	71.0	1.40
Thunder Bay	17.4	48.6	37.8	103.8	1.86
Toronto	8.4	33.5	16.5	58.4	1.63
Windsor	9.2	42.4	27.4	78.9	1.70
Ontario	8.9	38.6	22.6	70.1	--
Chicoutimi	5.7	43.1	14.3	63.1	1.27
Hull	7.0	40.9	19.3	67.2	1.47
Montreal	8.3	49.2	20.3	77.8	1.73
Quebec	4.6	35.1	13.8	53.4	1.33
Sherbrooke	4.1	40.2	15.0	59.3	1.16
Trois-Rivieres	4.9	41.0	17.8	63.7	1.44
Quebec	6.4	40.7	17.1	64.2	--
Halifax	10.0	59.3	27.0	96.3	1.51
St. John	11.2	34.0	25.7	70.8	1.75
St. John's	9.7	42.5	21.7	73.9	1.48
Atlantic Canada	9.1	32.6	26.9	68.7	--
Canada Less West	8.3	38.8	21.6	68.6	--
Canada	9.7	45.4	25.9	81.0	--

SOURCE: Derived by Canada West from Statistics Canada, 1998.

In 1996, Vancouver accounted for 49% of the BC population, but 70% of all BC vehicle thefts and 60% of all break-and-enters. At the time, the vehicle theft rate in BC was 9.3 thefts per 1,000 residents; in Vancouver, this rate was 13.3 per 1,000. The break-and-enter rate for BC was 20.4 per 1,000 residents; in Vancouver, the rate was 25.1 per 1,000. In 1996, Regina accounted for 20% of the Saskatchewan population, but 33% of all break-and-enters. The break-and-enter rate in Saskatchewan was 18.0 per 1,000 residents; in Regina, the rate was 30.3 per 1,000. Regina's rate was the highest in Canada.





The point to stress is that variations in urban-rural crime may occur within categories. In other words, property crime in rural areas may take a different form than property crimes in CMAs.

Again, these findings present a number of questions. Why are there urban-rural distinctions in the types of crimes reported? What factors can explain high crime rates in some CMAs, and low crime rates in others? These questions cannot be answered by reported crime rates alone, but do point to the need for further research.

Crime: Primary Conclusions

The West has dramatically higher reported crime rates than other regions, with rates highest in Saskatchewan and British Columbia. Crime in general is not correlated with urban centres: in 1996, Canada's CMAs had 62% of the country's population and 62% of all reported criminal code incidents. However, there are differences in the types of crime that occur in the large cities, with CMAs more likely to experience property crime than non-CMA areas. In addition, the types of crimes committed inside the various categories do differ. The results of the data indicate a pressing need for more research on crime in the urban context, particularly as it relates to Western cities.

ECONOMIC TRENDS IN THE CMAs

Closing out our profiling exercise is a brief look at some of the more important economic indicators for Canadian census metropolitan areas. As this section will demonstrate, cities in Canada are powerful economic engines, and to no small extent, they drive the Canadian economy. However, when cities are explored in terms of their economic potential, several clear differences emerge.

Incomes and Cost of Living

A set of income-related data for each of Canada's 25 CMAs is provided in *Figure 41* (page 64). The data show that residents in cities across the country do differ in terms of average personal income. The highest reported average personal income is found in the Ottawa-Hull CMA. In that city, the average personal income at the 1996 census was $29,749. Ottawa is closely followed by Oshawa, Toronto, and Calgary. The lowest average personal incomes were in Sherbrooke at $22,063. While incomes do give us a sense of the economic opportunity that can be found in a city, it must be kept in mind that they are also related to cost of living. A lower income is not necessarily a disadvantage when living in a city with a lower relative cost of living. The juxtaposition of incomes with cost of living is not a simple or easy exercise, but one can arrive at a sense of the comparative cost of living in different cities by looking at several key expenditure items.

For most households, the cost of shelter and groceries form the largest portion of the family budget. *Figure 40* compares different cities across the country based on the average resale value of homes in each city and the average weekly amount spent by households on groceries. What emerges is a rough snapshot of the cost of living in several cities when related to these two major expenditure items. (All cities could not be included due to a lack of sufficient data, and readers should note that the cities listed are not necessarily the CMA designation.) With regards to the cost of housing, four types of cities emerge. The "very" expensive cities include Vancouver, Victoria, and Toronto, with the cost of housing in Vancouver easily surpassing its nearest competitors. Calgary and Ottawa have "relatively" expensive resale housing prices. The three cities of Edmonton, Montreal, and Halifax follow Calgary and Ottawa, and can be classified as "moderately" expensive. The rest of the cities, including Regina, Winnipeg, St. John and St. John's are arguably the "least" expensive on this measure, with average resale home values under the $100,000 mark.

FIGURE 40: Housing and Grocery Costs by Select Cities, 1997

AVERAGE Cost of a Residential Resale Home (Average of all MLS Listings)

AVERAGE Grocery Expenditure Per HOUSEHOLD Each Week

Vancouver	$124.77	Toronto	$113.35
Victoria	$118.82	Ottawa	$129.58
Edmonton	$104.00	Montreal	$119.80
Calgary	$130.51	Halifax	$118.54
Regina	$102.80	St. John	$94.10
Winnipeg	$102.74	St. John's	$134.57

SOURCE: Grocery Expenditure from Statistics Canada and Housing Related from Canadian Real Estate Association

FIGURE 41: Key Income Indicators For Canadian CMAs

	INCOMES			ECONOMIC DEPENDENCY	INVESMENT INCOME	
	Average Income (1996)	% Difference From Provincial Average	Change in Income in Constant $ (1990-95)	% of Incomes From Government or Private Pensions	% Taxfilers Reporting Investment Income	Investments as a % of Total Incomes
Vancouver	$27,450	+ 4.2%	– 5.2%	16.8%	41.7%	12.1%
Victoria	$27,369	+ 3.9%	+ 0.8%	24.9%	43.7%	13.7%
Edmonton	$25,728	– 1.5%	– 5.2%	17.3%	36.6%	9.9%
Calgary	$28,963	+ 9.8%	– 2.8%	13.2%	37.2%	9.7%
Saskatoon	$24,215	+ 6.9%	– 2.3%	19.7%	38.0%	8.7%
Regina	$25,820	+ 12.7%	– 3.1%	19.6%	41.0%	8.4%
Winnipeg	$24,184	+ 6.3%	– 3.0%	21.7%	40.2%	9.3%
Hamilton	$27,556	+ 0.9%	– 3.3%	21.4%	38.4%	9.0%
Kitchener	$27,074	– 0.9%	– 2.6%	17.4%	36.9%	9.2%
London	$26,756	– 2.1%	– 4.4%	22.1%	39.3%	9.7%
Oshawa	$29,202	+ 6.5%	– 5.4%	17.5%	34.0%	6.8%
Ottawa-Hull	$29,749	+ 8.2%	– 6.5%	20.3%	36.3%	8.1%
St. Catharines	$24,565	– 11.2%	– 3.9%	26.6%	40.5%	9.5%
Sudbury	$26,088	– 4.7%	– 6.2%	24.1%	35.1%	7.2%
Thunder Bay	$26,463	– 3.2%	– 4.5%	23.0%	40.9%	7.4%
Toronto	$28,980	+ 5.8%	– 10.0%	16.7%	38.3%	10.2%
Windsor	$28,053	+ 2.7%	+ 4.9%	20.5%	36.8%	8.1%
Chicoutimi	$22,675	– 2.3%	– 8.1%	24.6%	28.5%	6.4%
Montreal	$24,625	+ 5.8%	– 6.4%	20.9%	34.5%	10.4%
Quebec	$24,392	+ 4.9%	– 4.3%	20.8%	34.8%	5.3%
Sherbrooke	$22,063	– 5.1%	– 2.6%	22.5%	33.6%	9.2%
Trois-Rivieres	$22,307	– 4.0%	– 3.2%	24.5%	34.2%	8.3%
Halifax	$25,135	+ 14.3%	– 6.4%	20.6%	33.0%	8.7%
St. John	$23,012	+ 9.8%	– 5.9%	22.8%	31.6%	8.6%
St. John's	$23,145	+ 14.8%	– 7.3%	21.5%	26.7%	6.0%

SOURCE: Derived by CWF from Statistics Canada.

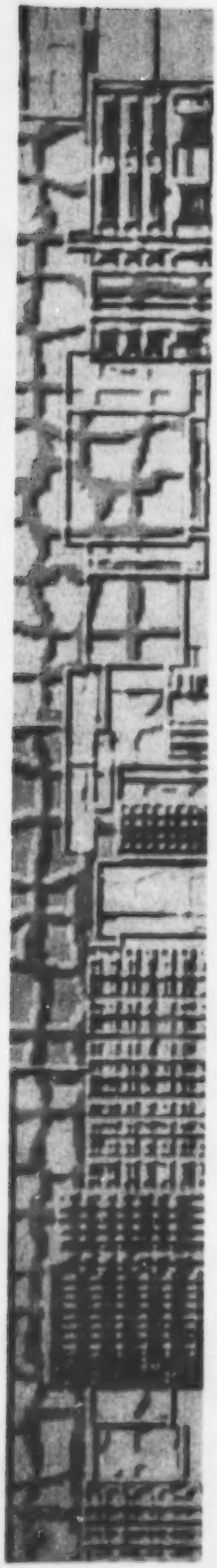
NOTES: 1996 Income figures from Statistics Canada Census data for 1996 are the average incomes of all persons reporting income. The change in income column is the change in average total family income in constant dollars adjusted for inflation from 1990-95. Economic dependency ratios are the percent of all income received from government or private pensions.

Figure 42: Labour Force and Housing Indicators For Canadian CMAs

	LABOUR FORCE						HOUSING PRICES	HOUSING STARTS			
	% Prov Population	Labour Force 1998	% of Provincial Labour Force	Participation Rate 1998	Unemployment Rate 1998	Increase in Help Wanted Index (96-97)	New Housing Price Index (% change 92-99)	1987 Actuals	% of all Provincial	1996 Actuals	% of all Provincial
Vancouver	49.2%	165,000	51.2%	65.8%	8.1%	+ 18.0%	– 15.1%	17,860	61.7%	15,453	55.9%
Victoria	8.2%	1,045,100	8.1%	62.9%	8.8%	+ 25.0%	– 22.6%	2,574	8.9%	1,142	4.1%
Edmonton	32.0%	514,200	32.0%	70.6%	6.2%	+ 24.0%	+ 8.9%	3,608	33.4%	3,634	21.8%
Calgary	30.5%	522,900	32.6%	74.0%	5.3%	+ 70.0%	+ 26.8%	3,466	32.1%	7,111	42.7%
Saskatoon	22.1%	121,500	23.9%	68.1%	7.2%	+ 29.0%	+ 12.7%	1,746	35.7%	1,208	49.5%
Regina	19.6%	114,000	22.4%	71.2%	5.2%	+ 32.0%	+ 26.6%	1,235	25.2%	434	17.8%
Winnipeg	59.9%	385,200	66.5%	68.4%	5.9%	+ 34.0%	+ 12.4%	6,508	79.6%	1,135	49.0%
Hamilton	5.8%	346,400	5.7%	65.8%	5.2%	+ 21.0%	+ 2.4%	5,619	5.3%	2,642	6.1%
Kitchener	3.6%	227,200	3.8%	70.0%	6.5%	*	+ 1.1%	4,645	4.4%	1,968	4.6%
London	3.7%	224,000	3.7%	65.5%	6.1%	+ 31.0%	– 1.6%	5,175	4.9%	1,394	3.2%
Oshawa	2.5%	151,700	2.5%	69.5%	7.4%	*	*	3,745	3.6%	1,563	3.6%
Ottawa-Hull	9.4%	586,500	9.7%	67.1%	7.1%	+ 23.0%	– 1.8%	9,805	9.3%	4,110	9.5%
St. Catharines	3.5%	184,800	3.1%	62.5%	7.6%	*	+ 1.0%	3,138	3.0%	995	2.3%
Sudbury	1.5%	88,000	1.5%	61.9%	11.3%	+ 30.0%	– *0.1%	1,128	1.1%	346	0.8%
Thunder Bay	1.2%	65,600	1.1%	62.2%	9.1%	*	– *0.1%	850	0.8%	296	0.7%
Toronto	39.6%	2,505,400	41.4%	68.4%	7.0%	+ 27.0%	+ 3.1%	46,518	44.2%	18,998	44.1%
Windsor	2.6%	151,800	2.5%	65.8%	8.8%	*	+ 5.8%	1,460	1.4%	2,300	5.3%
Chicoutimi	2.2%	75,300	2.0%	55.7%	12.6%	*	*	1,005	1.4%	309	1.3%
Montreal	46.6%	1,813,100	48.8%	64.7%	9.7%	+ 13.0%	+ 2.7%	42,024	56.7%	7,556	32.5%
Quebec	9.4%	367,400	9.9%	63.1%	8.6%	+ 3.0%	– 0.9%	8,646	11.7%	2,208	9.5%
Sherbrooke	2.1%	74,600	2.0%	60.2%	11.0%	+ 4.0%	*	2,116	2.9%	797	3.4%
Trois-Rivieres	2.0%	71,200	1.9%	59.4%	12.9%	*	*	1,511	2.0%	486	2.1%
Halifax	36.6%	189,500	41.9%	68.4%	7.4%	+ 23.0%	+ 10.1%	3,574	55.3%	2,022	49.8%
St. John	17.0%	66,200	17.9%	62.7%	9.8%	+ 29.0%	– 6.7%	891	24.0%	306	11.2%
St. John's	31.5%	92,700	38.4%	64.6%	12.1%	+ 24.0%	– 3.7%	1,080	40.3%	1,001	49.2%

SOURCES: Statistics Canada, CMHC Corporation

NOTES: All labour force data is from Statistics Canada and the Housing data from Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation. For New Housing Prices, a * indicates data is unavailable. The New Housing Price Index for Thunder Bay and Sudbury is the average for both communities. The index for St. John includes Moncton and Fredericton.



With regards to the average household grocery bill, households in Vancouver, Calgary, Ottawa and St. John's spend the most, at over $120 per week. Victoria, Toronto, Montreal, and Halifax are slightly lower at just under $120. Households in Edmonton, Regina, Winnipeg, and St. John spend the least on groceries. (Readers should be aware that these figures are "averages." They do not account for the complex interplay between actual "prices" and different "consumption" habits. In other words, the fact that Ottawa residents have a higher average income may also mean they spend more on groceries.)

Figure 41 shows that the personal income averages in 16 out of Canada's 25 CMAs are higher than the provincial averages. In the West, the only exception to this general trend is Edmonton, whose average is slightly lower. Regina registered the largest difference, with an average almost 13% higher than the provincial average. Calgary comes a close second at 10%. Cities in Atlantic Canada clearly show the widest divergence. For example, the average personal income in Halifax is 14% higher than the Nova Scotia average. While nine CMAs are below the provincial average, the differences are not great. St. Catharines registered the widest difference, falling 11% lower than the provincial average. Most cities with lower averages are in the 2% to 5% range. Perhaps it is no surprise that CMA personal income averages are higher than provincial averages given the general perception that cities are more expensive places in which to live. However, the validity of this perception has not been empirically tested, and is outside the scope of this report.

When changes in personal income are assessed, only two cities can boast that incomes have risen in the period from 1990-1995. In all cities across Canada, average *family* incomes (in constant dollars adjusted for inflation) have fallen *(Figure 41)*. In other words, most Canadian cities have not been able to escape the effects of a national trend that has been ongoing since the last economic recession.[11] Cities in Atlantic Canada have been the hardest hit, with the three CMAs in that region seeing family incomes fall on average by about 7%, followed by Quebec at 5%, Ontario at 4% and the West at 3%. Falling family incomes present a number of problems for all Canadians regardless of where they live, but in the urban context, declining incomes may present even more difficulties. This is especially true in cities where high demand for housing has led to rising housing prices.

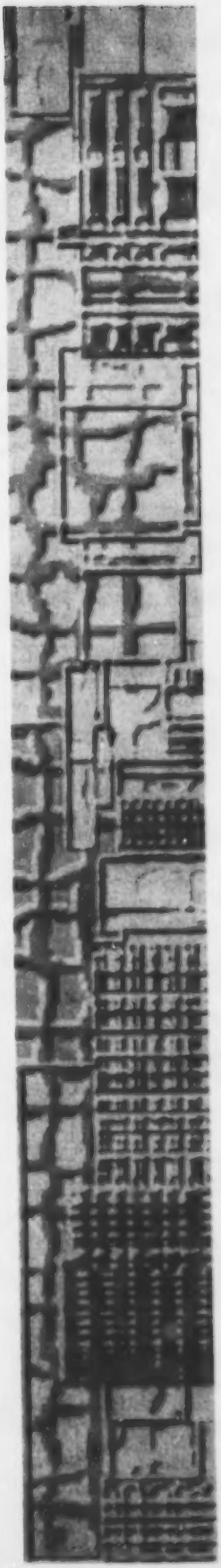
A key indicator of economic potential in Canadian cities is the "economic dependency" ratio. This measures the percentage of all personal incomes in a city that result from government transfers (eg. unemployment insurance, CPP payments, OAS payments, welfare, etc.) and privately-held pension plans. The higher the percentage, the more personal income that is derived from these sources, and the lower the percentage, the more that is derived from employment. Across Canada, there are wide differences between cities using this indicator. Calgary stands out as having the lowest "dependency" ratio at about 13%. Toronto is a distant second at 17%. Those cities with a relatively higher percentage

of seniors (eg. Victoria and St. Catharines) emerge with some of the highest ratios. When each CMA's ratio is averaged across the regions, the differences do seem to disappear. The West emerges with the lowest ratio (19%) followed by Ontario (21%), Atlantic Canada (22%) and Quebec (23%). However, the main point remains: those cities with a lower dependency ratio arguably possess some of the greatest economic potential if defined in terms of employment opportunity and job creation power. On this front, Western cities seem to lead the country, although they are rivaled by several Ontario centres, including Kitchener-Waterloo, Oshawa, and Toronto.

Assessing cities with respect to investments reinforces some of our findings seen with the economic dependency ratios. Included in ***Figure 41*** is the percentage of taxfilers in each CMA who reported investment income, and the percentage of total personal incomes derived from personal investments. Popular retirement cities such as Victoria and St. Catharines emerge as cities where a high number of taxfilers report investment income (44% and 41% respectively). However, there are some surprises as well. Regina and Winnipeg also score well on this measure, followed by Thunder Bay. Regionally, cities in the West tend to have a higher percentage of investors. Four of the six cities with more than 40% of taxfilers reporting investment income are in Western Canada, and when the percentages for each CMA are averaged, the West emerges with the highest average percentage of investors (40%) followed by Ontario (38%), Quebec (33%) and Atlantic Canada (30%). It is important to keep in mind that this measure does not just speak to retirement, but also provides an inroad into the personal investment capital ***available*** in various cities – capital that is not necessarily invested in that community, but that is nonetheless available. Those cities where more people have saved and have access to investment capital are cities that are arguably more poised to take advantage of economic opportunities when they arise.

The Labour Force

Figure 42 outlines some key data with respect to each CMA's labour force, including the relative size of the labour force, its size compared to the larger provincial labour force, the effective participation rate, and the unemployment rate. When assessing cities based on their labour force characteristics, a number of findings emerge. About half of Canada's CMAs have labour forces that comprise a larger percentage of the provincial labour force than their population would warrant. In other words, some CMAs obviously contain more workers than the provincial average. Three cities in particular stand out on this front: Winnipeg, Halifax, and St. John's, Newfoundland. As already mentioned, the CMA of Winnipeg dominates its province like no other city, and this is especially true when assessing the labour force. While comprising 60% of the provincial population, almost 67% of the province's workers are in the Winnipeg CMA. The CMA of St. John's comprises 32% of Newfoundland's population, but contains more than 38% of the province's labour force. Halifax comprises over one-third of the provincial population, but 42% of the labour force.



Of the seven major metros in Western Canada, five have labour forces that are larger than their population would warrant. The only exceptions are Victoria (not surprising given the higher proportion of people over 65 years of age) and Edmonton, which contributes exactly its fair share. Interestingly, only three Ontario cities contribute more than their share based on population and with the sole exception of Toronto, the differences are quite small. On this measure, one can posit the argument that Western cities seem to be more important to their provinces in terms of the pool of available labour, than cities in other regions.

A number of differences are also evident with regards to participation rates (the percentage of people in a community who are actively in the labour force) in the various CMAs . In general, Western CMAs tend to have a higher proportion of their population in the labour force. The average participation rates in Western CMAs is 69%, compared to 66% in Ontario, 61% in Quebec, and 65% in Atlantic Canada. Indeed, of the four CMAs with participation rates in excess of 70%, three are in the West and include Edmonton, Calgary (the highest in the country) and Regina. Participation rates result from a number of factors, including the age structure of the population, and the availability of work. When work is scarce, people drop out of the labour force and quit seeking employment.

Dovetailing on participation rates is a comparison of unemployment rates across CMAs. While unemployment rates fluctuate from year to year, the 1998 rates do provide a small window on the economic health of the various cities. Again, some wide swings are evident. Hamilton and Regina emerge with the lowest rates for 1998 at 5.2% each. Calgary and Winnipeg follow closely at 5.3% and 5.9% respectively. Across the country in 1998, only these four cities had rates under 6%. Three cities had rates over 6%, six cities were over 7%, four were over 8%, three were over 9%, and five were over 10%. No region of the country had a consistently low unemployment rate. In the West, the rates range from a low of 5.2% in Regina to a high of 8.8% in Victoria. In Ontario, the rates range from a low of 5.2% in Hamilton to a high of 11.3% in Sudbury. In Quebec, the rates tend toward the higher end, but again there is quite a difference from a low of 9.7% in Montreal to a high of 13% in Trois-Rivieres. Coping with the problems that come in the wake of unemployment is not easy, and clearly this problem is not equally shared among Canada's cities.

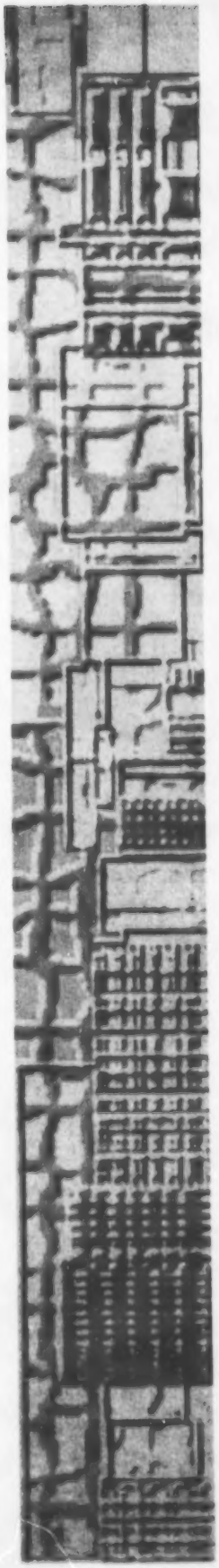
Rounding out our look at the labour force is Statistics Canada's "Help Wanted Index", which is an indicator of the availability of work as measured through help wanted ads placed in city newspapers *(Figure 42)*. The percentages in the columns indicate the increase in the number of ads asking for employees (Data are not available for every city.) A number of trends emerge from the data. First, the help wanted index builds on our unemployment numbers by showing that growth in employment opportunities has varied between cities, and sometimes very sharply. For example, between 1996 and

1997, the index grew by only 3% in Quebec City, but by an astonishing 70% in Calgary. Indeed, Calgary stands alone among Canadian CMAs on this score – no other city even comes close. Winnipeg runs a distant second at 34% followed by Regina at 32%. In general, cities in the West have seen a larger increase in the help wanted index than other CMAs in the country, indicating more economic potential and vibrancy.

Construction Activity

Figure 42 shows some key data related to housing in the various CMAs. Housing is a primary economic indicator for any economy. When an economy begins to grow, the level of construction is typically one of the first indicators to demonstrate expansion. For this reason, it is an especially important indicator for the local context, given the absence of other macro-economic indicators such as GDP growth rates. Across Canada, CMAs have varied significantly in their housing markets over the last seven years as measured by the "New Housing Price Index" (the average percentage increase in the price of a new home). Since 1992, Canada's new housing price index has increased by only 0.3%, but that is not at all reflective of what has been happening in the cities. In the West, the costs of new homes in Calgary and Regina have increased by over 26%, the largest increase in the country. The West has also seen the largest drops – the average cost of new homes in Vancouver has fallen by about 23% since 1992, and in Victoria by about 15%. In other CMAs, the changes have been much less pronounced, typically in the range of 1% to 6%, with the sole exception being Halifax which has seen a 10% increase. New home construction tends to be relatively sensitive to supply and demand, and it is clear that Western cities are undergoing some tremendous housing market changes as a result of economic pressures. However, these changes are not reflected in the same direction across CMAs, clearly pointing to much different pressures in cities across the West, and indeed, the country.

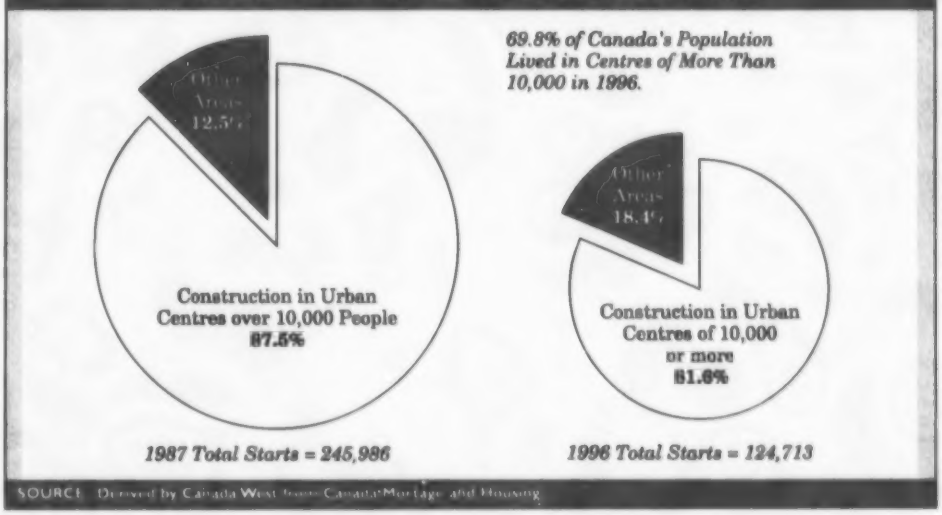
Figure 42 also provides a look at new home construction starts across CMAs. The most recent data presented are for the 1996 year, and data for ten years ago are also presented for historical purposes. To provide a national context, Canada saw about 250,000 new home starts in 1987, but by 1996, only 125,000 new homes were started – a drop of about 50%. Looking at the CMAs, several trends emerge. First, the degree of change in the number of new home construction starts over the period is not the same for each city. For example, in 1987 over 6,500 homes were started in Winnipeg. Since that time, construction in Winnipeg has virtually collapsed, with only 1,100 homes started, representing an 83% drop. Montreal has also seen a dramatic fall. In 1987, over 42,000 homes were started in the Montreal CMA, but in 1996, only 7,500 were started – a drop of 82%. Only two cities in Canada have shown an increase between 1987 and 1996 – Edmonton (0.7%) and Calgary (105%). It is well known that housing construction can be volatile. Clearly, this volatility is not equally shared by cities across the country, and when housing construction "goes bust" the impact on some cities can be felt sharply.



But the data reveal a second, and even more important finding. In 1987, when housing construction was proceeding relatively well, most CMAs saw a higher percentage of homes being started in their boundaries than their population would warrant. Sometimes, the differences were stunning. For example, in 1987 Winnipeg accounted for almost 80% of all the homes being built in Manitoba. Vancouver accounted for 62%, and Halifax for 55%. Of the 25 CMAs in 1987, 17 posted new home starts much higher than their populations would warrant. In 1996, this number fell to 13, but some stark differences still remained. For example, in 1996, Saskatoon comprised about 22% of the population in Saskatchewan, but almost 50% of all new homes built in the province were constructed in that city. In short, economic expansion and new construction activity in large metros can dominate the industry in a province under certain economic conditions.

Figure 43 assesses the overall importance of urban centres to housing activity. In 1987, of the roughly 250,000 new homes started, almost 90% were undertaken in an urban environment of more than 10,000 people, despite the fact that less than 70% of Canadians live in such centres. In 1996, while the number of homes being started had clearly fallen, 82% were still being started in such urban areas.

FIGURE 43: Housing Starts in Canada, 1987 and 1996


69.8% of Canada's Population Lived in Centres of More Than 10,000 in 1996.
Other Areas 12.5%
Construction in Urban Centres over 10,000 People 87.5%
1987 Total Starts = 245,986
Other Areas 18.4%
Construction in Urban Centres of 10,000 or more 81.6%
1996 Total Starts = 124,713

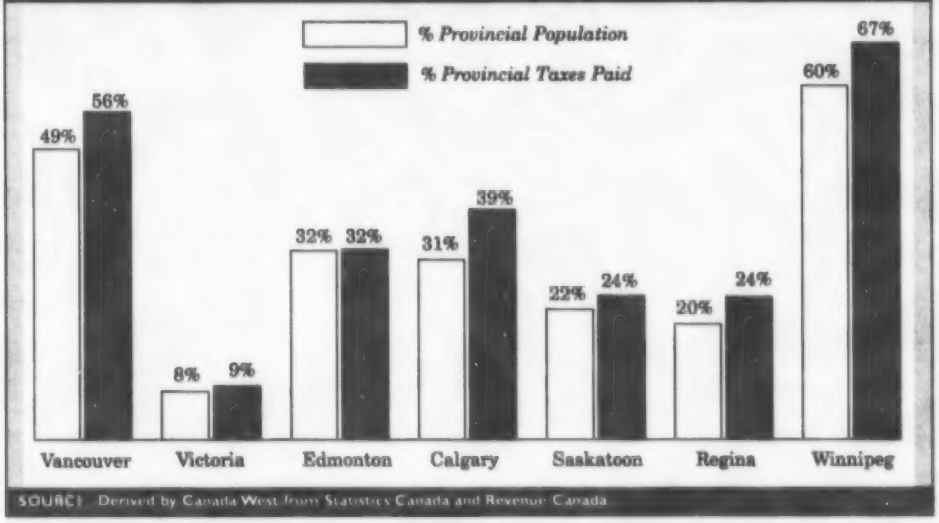
SOURCE: Derived by Canada West from Canada Mortgage and Housing

Personal Income Taxes and CMAs

Because both the labour force and average personal incomes in Canada's CMAs appear to be higher than those in other areas of the country, an interesting test of the reliability of our conclusions is to uncover whether more personal income taxes come out of CMAs than their overall population would indicate. A theoretically easy relationship to construct is to simply take each CMA's percentage of the total provincial personal income tax take and compare that with each CMA's proportion of the provincial population. While the relationship is easy to understand, extracting the data is less so as the census documents and Revenue Canada present the CMA data differently. This problem is particularly

acute in Ontario and Quebec, and so we present only the 1996 tax data for the CMAs in Western Canada. *Figure 44* shows the results of this analysis, and indicates that some CMAs do have more personal income taxes being paid to provincial and federal coffers than their population would warrant. Only the Edmonton CMA seems to contribute the same proportion as its population. For the most part, the differences are not overwhelmingly large, but some cities are worth noting. In 1996, the Calgary CMA paid about 26% more in personal income taxes than its population would indicate, Winnipeg about 12%, and Vancouver about 14%. For the rest of Western Canada's CMAs, the proportions are about equal. The essential point to draw from the data is not that Western cities are being unfairly treated, but that they do serve as powerful economic engines in the provincial context.

FIGURE 44: % of Provincial Personal Income Taxes Generated by Western CMAs



SOURCE: Derived by Canada West from Statistics Canada and Revenue Canada

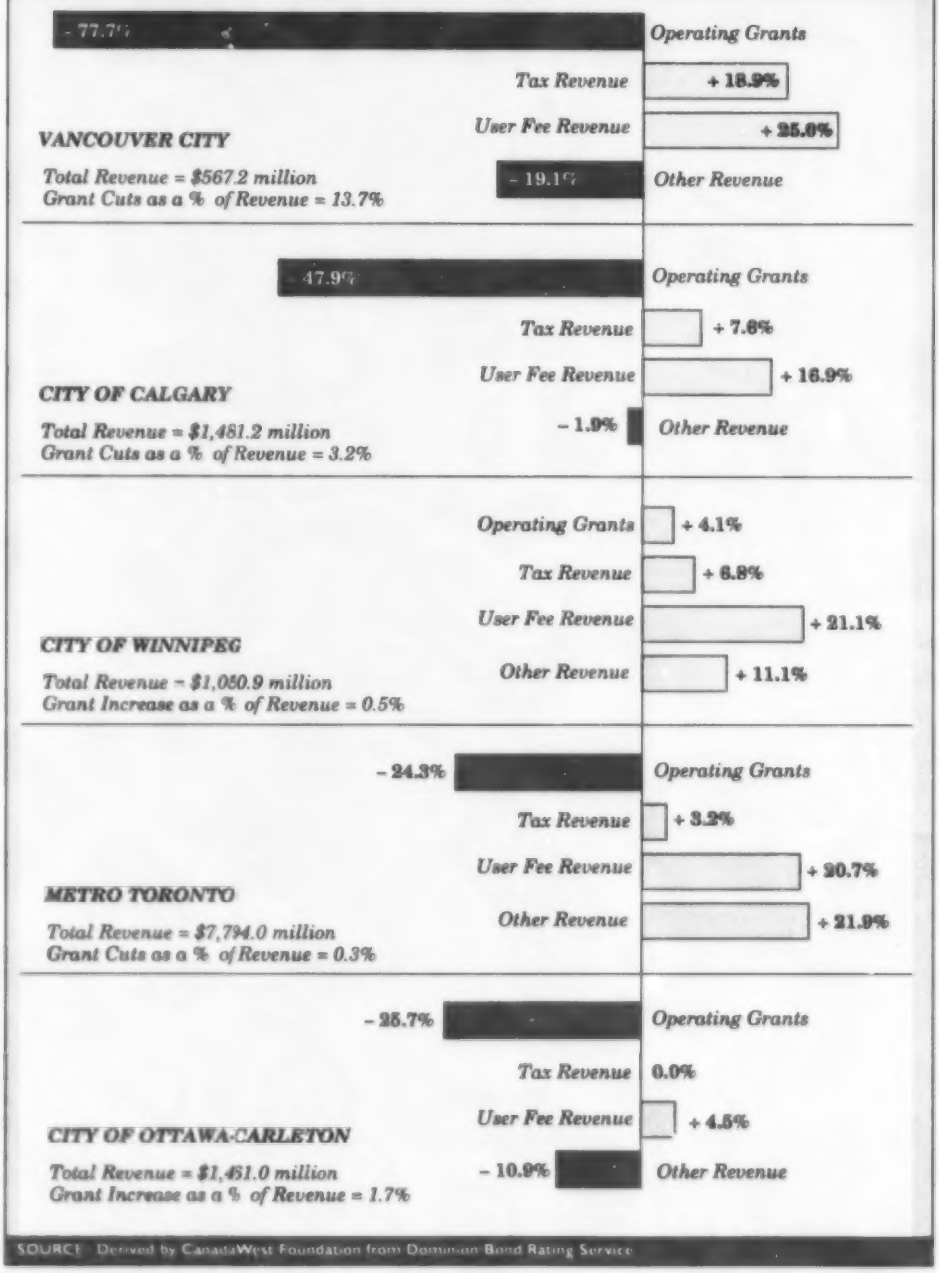
Municipal Finances

A key indicator of a city's economic health can be found by exploring data related to public finances – whether cities are running deficits, stocking up debt, or paying out huge sums to service debt. Unfortunately, sources of comparative data on municipal finances that match up with the Statistics Canada CMA definition are virtually non-existent. As such, primary research materials like municipal budgets would have to be used, but again, comparability is compromised as cities use different accounting practices and presentation styles. Compensating for the differences is clearly outside the scope of this work.

With that said, however, the public perception is that cities today are under tremendous financial strain, particularly those cities which are showing rapid population growth and the resulting pressures on municipal infrastructure needs and the capital spending side of budgets. Compounding the problem is the fact that federal and provincial governments have been cutting back on expenditures for many programs and services, and cities have not remained untouched.

For this section of the report, we have briefly scanned through several reports on Canadian cities issued by the Dominion Bond Rating Service, which examines the fiscal health of governments and private corporations in order to issue a bond rating report for potential investors. Recently, bondraters have started to take an active interest in some of the larger municipalities in the country, so we do have a source of information that we can turn to for some elemental information on recent trends. Several findings emerge as one scans the available information.

FIGURE 45: % Change in Select Cities' Revenue Components (1993-1997)



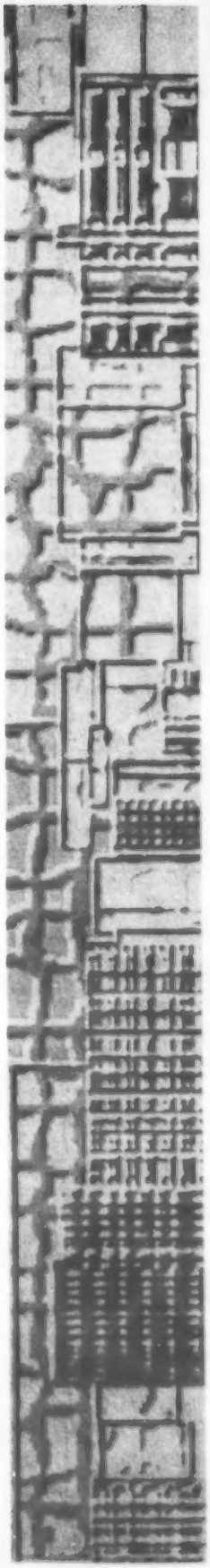
SOURCE: Derived by CanadaWest Foundation from Dominion Bond Rating Service

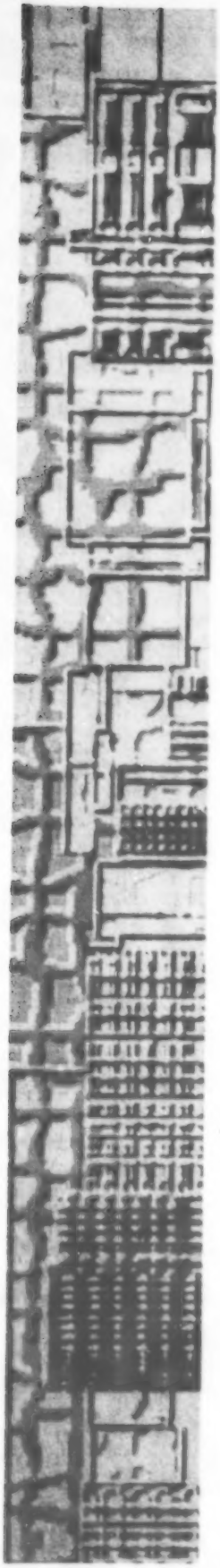
Figure 45 provides some key data on municipal revenues for the five year period from 1993 to 1997, outlining the percentage change in different revenue sources. It is important to keep in mind that the percentages in the chart do *not* refer to changes in the tax *rate*, but only to changes in *revenue*, which can surely result from an effective tax rate increase, but can also result from a broadened tax base, a growing population, or a growing economy. From the chart, it is clear that several cities have had to cope with cuts made to their operating grants received from other senior governments. The problem has been felt sharply in the City of Vancouver (not the CMA) where operating grants fell some 78% in the period from 1993 to 1997. In Calgary, operating grants fell 48% over the same period compared to 24% in metro Toronto, and 26% in Ottawa-Carleton. Only the City of Winnipeg has seen operating grants increase since 1993.

As a result of operating grants falling, other revenue streams have grown to replace lost revenues and prevent deficits. For most cities, it appears that growth in user fee revenues have been an important revenue source. In Vancouver, user fee revenue grew by some 26%, and in Calgary by 17%. Even with operating grants growing slightly, user fee revenues in Winnipeg are up 21%. User fee revenue in Toronto grew by 21% and in Ottawa-Carleton by 5%.

It is important not to understate *or* overstate the impact of these changing revenue streams. In other words, the percentage changes need to be placed in context of the overall size of the budget. In Vancouver, the fall in operating grants represented 14% of the total city's budget. In this case, the shock is arguably quite pronounced and quite sharply felt. In other centres, however, declining grant revenues comprise anywhere from 2% to 3% of the total budget – a much smaller amount. At the same time, losing 3% of a $1 billion or $2 billion budget is no small amount. In the case of Calgary, operating grants fell by more than $40 million, a large amount no matter what its contribution to the overall budget.

All the evidence is certainly not in, and the issue of municipal finance remains one of concern on the urban landscape, particularly as it relates to the growing infrastructure needs of cities experiencing rapid growth. In fact, the issue of municipal finance touches on many issues in the community, primarily as it relates to the provincial downloading of public services to the communities in an era when municipal operating grants have also fallen. Over the years, the federal and provincial governments have benefited from numerous independent analysis of their budget situation. Typically, the focus of such analysis was to examine options for curtailing deficits and paying down debt while ensuring that taxation levels do not rise and core programs are protected for the future. Canada's cities would benefit from a similar analysis, if only to demonstrate the current trends in municipal finance and the options of dealing with the fiscal pressures that are most certainly being felt in many City Halls across the country.

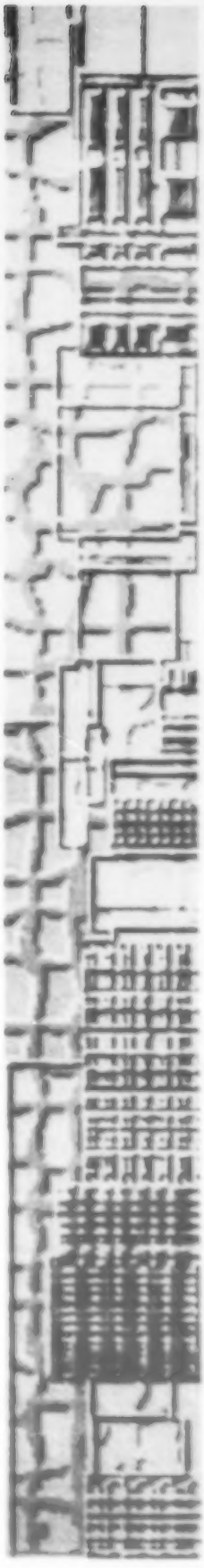




Economic Trends: Primary Conclusions

The economic potential of Canadian cities, and the opportunities and challenges they face, are very diverse. Our scan suggests that no two cities in the country emerge as similar in terms of important economic indicators such as incomes, labour force, unemployment rates, housing prices and new home construction. But more important, it is also clear that cities have become prime locales for much of Canada's economic activity, whether one examines new home construction, the size of the labour force, or the relative size of average incomes. This seems especially true with respect to Western Canada's large metros. In sum, with significant economic activity and potential currently stocked in large urban areas, the broader issues of effective local governance and creating positive economic climates are of prime concern and importance not just for cities, but the country as a whole.

CHAPTER FOUR:
FUTURE DIRECTIONS FOR URBAN RESEARCH



Cities@2000 has demonstrated that Canada is becoming increasingly urbanized. Cities drive the Canadian economy and enrich Canadian life through the diversity of their populations. *Cities@2000* has also demonstrated that Canadian cities vary greatly in their urbanity, social nature and economic realities. Due to this high degree of variation, Canada's cities each have unique policy needs and opportunities. A single "one-size-fits-all" policy strategy is inappropriate: policies that are effective in one city will not necessarily translate into success in another. The implication is that municipal governments require the flexibility to meet their cities' unique needs.

These findings present the foundation for further urban governance research. In our opinion, there are five broad objectives facing Canadian urban researchers:

1) To orchestrate research on the role of Canadian cities in the 21st century, and assess the appropriate role and powers of municipal governments in Canadian federalism.

2) To identify the policy challenges faced by Canadian cities, and best practices in resolving such policy challenges.

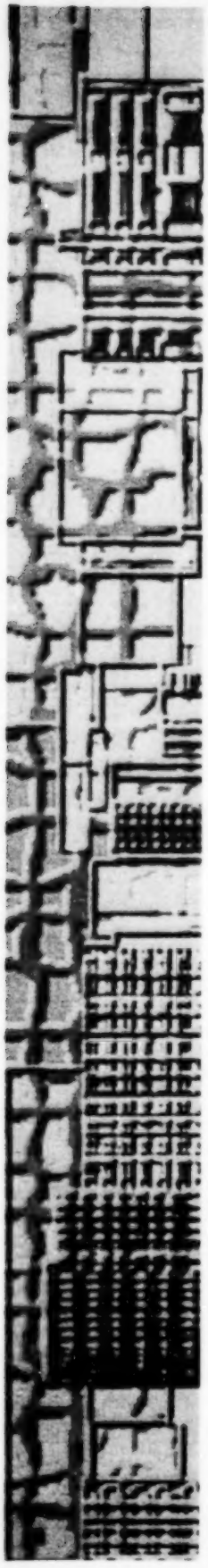
3) To place the growing importance of Canadian cities within the context of globalization, and the related contexts of economic transformation and new electronic technologies.

4) To stimulate continued research on Canadian cities and urban governance by establishing a research network.

5) To heighten public awareness of the growing importance of cities to the economic, social and cultural lives of Canadians.

These objectives lead to a very broad and rich research agenda. The following research directions are by no means exhaustive, but they do highlight the most pressing research priorities. While each of the following topics can be seen as self-contained, it should be stressed that knowledge gains from each will reinforce other dimensions of urban research.

- ***Urban Government in the Canadian Federation:*** There are three central questions surrounding the role of municipalities within federalism. First, what are the existing models of municipal-federal arrangements and public policy-making that can be extracted from the comparative experience of other federal states? Second, which models of municipal power best fit



current Canadian political realities and future challenges? And third, should municipalities formally be considered a "third order of government" within the text of national and provincial constitutions? In addressing these questions, research must provide a broader conceptual foundation for the study and practice of Canadian federalism, fully incorporating urban affairs.

- ***Municipal Government Finances:*** Due to provincial downloading and growing urban populations, municipal governments face increased public demands upon their services. To what extent are municipal governments financially able to meet these demands? What strategies -- such as increased property taxes and user fees, borrowing for capital needs, and reallocating spending -- are cities employing to meet needs? What are the impacts of the various strategies? Overall, what is the fiscal health of Canada's cities?

- ***Issue Agendas of Canadian Cities:*** As *Cities@2000* has demonstrated, each CMA has a unique social and economic profile. How do these profiles translate into issue agendas? Policy issue research could explore cities within regions or provinces, or look at cities on a case-by-case basis. Such research would identify key issues that policymakers, businesses and families should be aware of when planning for the next decade.

- ***Best Practices in Urban Policy:*** What can policymakers do to address specific urban policy issues? The goal of best practices research is not only to provide solutions to cities that need redirection, but also to assist cities in "getting it right the first time." It is financially and socially astute to foresee and avoid problems experienced in other cities. By learning from others' experience, Canada's cities can continually advance. Transportation policy, environmental protection, urban growth and development, housing and homelessness, urban decay, urban working conditions, and regionalization in social service delivery are all topics worthy of consideration.

- ***Managing Growth in Urban Centres:*** The rapid growth of many cities presents particular challenges. While the cities have an improved tax base, there is increased demand upon public services, and cities can face difficulties keeping pace. A study of how different Canadian cities have attempted to manage growth, and the impacts of their efforts, would provide comparative knowledge.

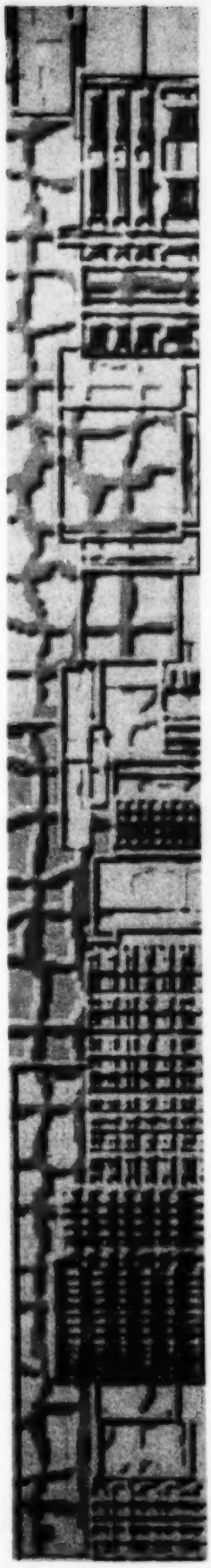
- ***Crime in Western Cities:*** Recent data indicate that reported crime rates in Western Canadian cities remain high, despite dropping rates through out the rest of Canada. What factors explain the crime rates? What responses are being taken by municipal police forces? What community

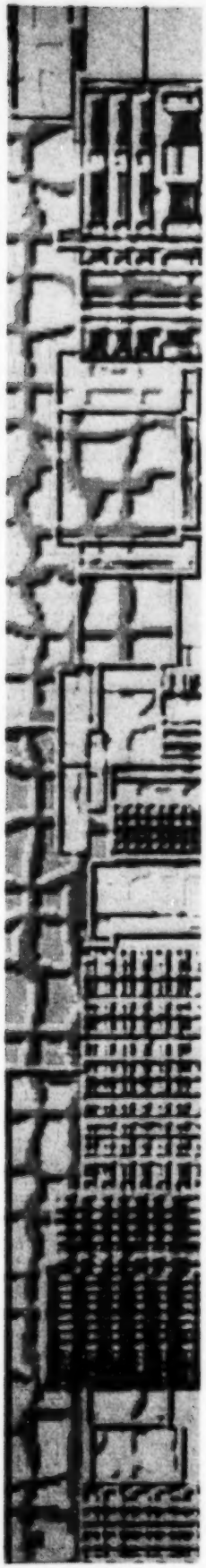
responses to crime are appropriate? Such research should present alternative courses of action, and assess municipal responses to similar crime issues in other jurisdictions.

- ***Lessons of Urban Amalgamation:*** Since 1971, there have been at least four major amalgamation efforts at the municipal level in Canada. The logic for amalgamation is that it reduces service duplication and improves efficiency. Does this argumentation hold true? What is the impact of amalgamation upon communities within the city? What new challenges does amalgamation create for municipalities? The four amalgamated cities could serve as case studies of the advantages and disadvantages of amalgamation in Canada. Given that Vancouver, Victoria and Edmonton frequently face amalgamation pressures, this study would be highly informative for future policy decisions.

- ***Urban Aboriginal Peoples:*** Unlike cities in the central and eastern provinces, Western cities have growing Aboriginal populations. Western cities capture an important part of the contemporary social dynamics confronting Aboriginal peoples, and the intersection of Aboriginal communities and municipal governments is becoming increasingly important. Urban Aboriginal peoples take on greater political prominence than their numbers alone suggest because of related issues of homelessness, the quality of available housing and, particularly in Winnipeg, the recent focus on youth-related crime. Research is needed to explore the issues facing urban Aboriginal peoples, the impact of these issues upon the city, and how the three orders of government might best work together to find appropriate policy strategies.

- ***Development of Urban Economic Indicators:*** There is a great methodological challenge in comparative urban research on economic dimensions. On some indicators, there is a lack of comparable data. For example, housing statistics merge centres, such as Sudbury with Thunder Bay, that are normally considered separate entities. On other indicators, data are not available for all CMAs. An example of this is the lack of resale housing data for all centres. While Statistics Canada and other statistical organizations are beginning to focus on municipal data, for the benefit of future urban research, statisticians and economists should work together to establish proper, comprehensive and comparable economic measures. Admittedly, this is not an easy task and would require significant amounts of cooperation and communication. However, the net benefits of the process would be great.





- ***Urban Research Network:*** Despite its importance to Canadian governance and the quality of life in Canada, urban policy does not have an established and wide-reaching research network. By definition, urban research is cross-disciplinary research. As a result, isolated researchers in the "think tank", political science, economics, environmental studies and urban planning communities are generating important studies on Western Canadian urban issues. What is needed is a formal network of researchers so to avoid duplication and allow the cross-pollination of ideas. An Urban Research Network would identify researchers active in urban policy studies, and link these researchers through electronic list-servs, workshops and other forums. This step would ensure broader dissemination of the research findings, and allow researchers to benefit from the on-going findings of other projects.

Clearly, this is an ambitious research agenda, and if Canadian urban scholars are able to fulfill it, the findings will greatly enhance both the study and practice of urban governance for years to come. The Canada West Foundation is committed to the task, and we invite others to join with us in exploring this important area of research. Working together, we can find ways to improve the "urban" places that a majority of Canadians call home.

ENDNOTES

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